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JPRS-EER-86-147

30 SEPTEMBER 1986

# East Europe Report

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30 SEPTEMBER 1986

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AGRICULTURE

HUNGARY

INCOMES OF SMALL AGRICULTURAL PRODUCERS DISCUSSED

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian No 34, 14 Aug 86 p 34

[Article by Peter Bonyhadi: "How Much Do Small Producers Earn?"]

[Text] Gross Income of Small Farms per Man-Hour of Own Labor (Forints)

Produce	1981	1985	Index 1985/1981
Potatoes	92.75	91.01	98.1
Field-grown tomatoes	37.02	44.09	119.1
Forced tomatoes	52.78	53.68	101.7
Apples	42.75	65.89	154.1
Plums	26.19	25.02	95.5
Apricots	31.16	59.02	189.4
Peaches	74.66	82.91	111.1
Wine grapes	43.49	29.55	68.0
Cow's milk	40.66	36.73	90.3
Slaughter cattle	18.47	18.25	98.8
Pigs	28.02	30.16	107.6
Slaughter hogs	32.35	28.73	88.8
Eggs	28.92	40.23	139.1
Chickens raised for meat	49.76	54.60	109.7

Depending on their economic and financial situation, the agricultural cooperatives and state farms are integrating small-scale farming. In the increasingly difficult economic environment, of course, ever fewer large-scale farms "can afford" to support those small-scale farms from which they themselves do not derive any profit. Thus when economic reasons compel large-scale farms to gradually discontinue some farm product or other, the small-scale farms are able to take over its production only if the large-scale farms provide the necessary production conditions. (When dairy farming is "regrouped," for example, the large-scale farms must provide the necessary bulk fodder.)

Only What Is Worthwhile

When the large-scale farms have no financial incentive to organize small-scale farming, they do not care about providing the necessary conditions, either. Thus the given activity fails to develop, or shrinks, in small-scale farming as well.

According to the findings of a study entitled "The 1985 Cost and Income Situation of Small Commodity-Producing Farms, by Principal Farm Products," prepared by MEM STAGEK [Statistical and Economic Analysis Center, Ministry of Agriculture and Food], small-scale producers too are willing to undertake additional outlays only if these can be recovered from the additional yields.

A good example of the small-scale producers' sensible cost management is the consumption of feed and fodder. This consumption, and within it particularly the consumption of feed grain, is lower on the small-scale farms than in large-scale farming. This can be attributed to more thrifty management, individualized care of the animals, and careful selection of the composition of the feed and fodder.

Naturally, also the cost of the feed and fodder consumed per unit of product is generally lower than on the large-scale farms. But here the difference between the two sectors is not so significant as in the specific consumption of feed and fodder. This is because the small-scale producers purchase most of their feed and fodder, accounting them at the procurement prices, whereas the large-scale farms grow their own feed and fodder, which figure in the farms' books at their operating costs.

#### Cause of Difference

The growing disparity (widening gap) between the procurement prices paid for farm products and the prices of the industrial raw materials and equipment used in agriculture is making itself felt in small-scale farming as well. But small-scale producers are better able to offset the unfavorable consequences. Namely, they are able to plan their production structure more flexibly, with fewer constraints. Thus they can choose farm products with uncontrolled prices, for which the chances of passing on the ripple effects of higher productions costs are much better.

In 1985, the gross income per unit of product declined for fruit, vegetables and potatoes, but rose for field-grown and forced cucumbers.

The rate of decline was more than 20 percent for field-grown tomatoes and green peppers, and for potatoes, but--except in the case of potatoes--the high 1984 gross incomes also played a role in this. The rate of rise in the case of wine grapes was as high as 70 percent [over 1984].

Among the livestock products, gross income per unit of product continued to worsen for slaughter cattle, slaughter hogs and milk. In raising pigs, gross income per head increased by 9 percent, but even so it was still below the pre-1984 level. On the other hand, the profitability of raising chickens and rabbits for meat improved.

#### Hourly Wage 40 Forints

In small-scale farming, however, the real incentive is reflected in the gross income per man-hour of own labor, rather than in the amount of gross income that can be earned from some production activity. Namely, small-scale producers make no distinction between the "wage cost" of their own labor and net

income. Instead, they regard as the fruit of their own labor what is left (the gross income) after deducting the costs of the inputs of materials and outside labor. And they plan their future activity in accordance with how their gross income per man-hour of own labor develops. Maintenance of the small-scale producers' financial incentive presupposes their earning at least as much income as they would earn by using their working time in some other way.

By now, however, the opportunities for using working time in other ways have changed considerably. Today the large-scale farms are unable to utilize the working time available for farming household plots, and the 24-forint average hourly wage that the large-scale farms pay in their principal activity cannot appear very attractive to the small-scale producers who essentially are working overtime. Much more appealing is day labor, in which men are able to earn as much as 500 or 600 forints during a ten-hour day; and women, as much as 300 to 350 forints.

Taking all this into consideration, we may say the the small-scale producers' gross income is adequate when it reaches or exceed 35 to 40 forints per man-hour.

If we start out from about 35 to 40 forints as the income that a small-scale producer has to earn per man-hour of his own labor, then we may say that the financial incentive for small-scale producers is adequate at present in crop production, except in the case of plums and wine grapes, but a further decline could cause disruptions. However, the profitability of livestock products cannot get any worse: with the exception of poultry production, which requires the least manual labor, the yields per man-hour of own labor are very low. Hopefully the recently announced 1987 modifications of the economic regulators for livestock production will improve the situation.

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CSO: 2500/454



AGRICULTURE

HUNGARY

NEW REGULATIONS ON LIVESTOCK RAISING DISCUSSED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Aug 86 p 4

[Interview with Ferenc Szabo, deputy minister of agriculture and food, by Imre Dogei: "Opportunity for Upsurge in Livestock Production"; date and place not given; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] The new economic regulators for livestock production, which will become effective as of 1 January 1987, have been published much earlier this year than usual. Although this does not yet mark the end of the series of measures which will determine the farms' opportunities next year, it may already be said that long-awaited decisions have been introduced which will certainly have a strong impact on the development of farm production. We interviewed Ferenc Szabo, the deputy minister of agriculture, about the background of the comprehensive measures and the prospects of development.

[Question] At midyear, in what state has the promulgation of the new regulators found domestic livestock production?

[Answer] It is a widely known fact that our livestock population began to drop two years ago. This drop was conspicuous especially in the case of hogs. Its causes were very complex, but in the final outcome the permanent decline of profitability was the main reason. Well, the incentives introduced early this year halted this decline, and the latest livestock census already indicates a slight rise in the hog population. But if we evaluate the present situation on the basis of the technical and technological level of livestock production, then it becomes completely clear why this prompt intervention has been necessary. The state farms and cooperative farms built most of their animal shelters 10 to 15 years ago. In the meantime these buildings and installations wore out, there was not enough money to replace them, and some of them still bear the mistakes that characterized the beginnings of the industry-like rearing of confined animals. Under the 4th Five-Year Plan, 3.5 billion forints was spent annually on investments in livestock production. This dropped to 2.3 billion forints a year under the 5th Five-Year Plan, and to merely 1.8 billion a year in the preceding five-year period. Now the farms are again getting a subsidy of 30 to 50 percent for construction and the renewal of the technological equipment. This subsidy is not merely a new element of economic regulation; it could build strong momentum in this entire branch of farm production.

Most producers, we believe, have reassessed the possibilities of livestock production and see what has to be done to again raise this activity to the place it merits. The causes of unprofitability must be sought not only in cattle raising or hog raising itself. From feed and fodder of poor quality to the conditions of keep and the weaknesses of foreign trade, many things combined to bring about the sudden halt. Therefore also the present tasks are manifold. The farms were ready for action as they awaited the more favorable financial conditions, from which they now primarily expect a change of pace that will truly result in livestock products of better quality, rather than a sharp quantitative rise in output.

[Question] We still remember the debate two years ago, on whether it was necessary to raise so many slaughter animals. What is the answer to this question now, and what are the foreign-market opportunities?

[Answer] Two-thirds of the volume of livestock products ends up on the tables of domestic consumers, and the social effects of good food supply could hardly be underestimated. We export a third of the meat, and its net export surplus --after deducting the meat import, that is--amounts to 0.5 billion dollars a year. For the time being we are unable to replace meat export with anything else in this role as an earner of foreign exchange, and domestic supply remains of key importance. The economic regulators now published provide, I believe, a clear answer to that question raised in the debate.

So far as export is concerned, our situation will remain difficult, but I am at least able to say this much for reassurance: the slide in meat prices that has been going on for years in foreign markets has stopped. In any case, we may draw the following lesson from our long marketing struggle: with flexible marketing, products carefully processed from raw materials of good quality can be sold. Therefore we are modernizing domestic processing, and there will also be organizational changes in the meat industry and foreign trade as well. Among other things, we will set up a joint foreign-trade enterprise of the meat industry plants.

[Question] As a result of the changes in the regulators, the incomes of the livestock-producing farms could increase by 4.0 billion forints. From where will this money come?

[Answer] Most of this amount will come from so-called domestic reallocation. Because of the rising prices of materials and capital goods, and the higher taxes, the farms will be paying for this part of the amount, but we will be offsetting the higher costs mainly in livestock production. Thus the position of this branch within agriculture will improve. A smaller share of the money will come from the state budget.

[Question] When the beneficial effect of the central measures is being mentioned, in the second part of the statements there recurs the condition: if livestock breeders improve their professional work and the observation of technological discipline. What reserves do you see on the farms?

[Answer] There is much to be done on the livestock farms, and now also the financial conditions for development are available. The advanced livestock-producing countries are far ahead of us in practically every production result,

although in the case of some of these countries their lead can be explained by their more favorable conditions. But even if we make allowances for this, we are still not in the lead. We hope that the favorable marketing conditions and subsidies will generate a driving force which will uncover also the existing reserves in professional work, and that through all this also livestock production's much weakened ability to absorb costs will improve.

[Question] The farms which were discontinuing their livestock-production operations one after the other have been getting much criticism lately. They are being reproached that it is easier to discontinue unprofitable operations than to turn them around at considerable effort. But at the same time, nobody can be expected to produce at a loss!

[Answer] I must admit that it is very difficult to do honest work with enthusiasm when it yields no profit. When there is no income, and nothing with which to modernize production, then in the final outcome liquidation is the obvious solution. This was the advice the so-called economic rehabilitation committees often gave the loss-making farms in recent years when attempting to reorganize the finances of these farms. The purpose of the higher prices and increased subsidies is specifically to change this approach and mentality. But it remains invariably true that a farm stands on a very weak footing without livestock production of good quality.

[Question] In one of its recommendations the FAO suggests that wages in livestock production ought to be 20 to 30 percent higher than in the other branches of farming, because the work is more difficult.

[Answer] The large-scale farms may introduce shift premiums for their laborers. From the beginning of next year on, the farms themselves must provide the resources for these shift premiums, and they may not use state resources for this purpose. On the other hand, the farms will be exempt from the payment of taxes under pay regulation. The effects of these additional forints could be more than just fatter pay envelopes. Work in animal husbandry, generally regarded as heavy physical labor, could become more appealing. Also, vocational training and the level of skills could improve. For, let us admit, many farms are not assigning their best-qualified people to caring for the animals. On the farms, the assessment of animal-husbandry specialists and their pay are now the source of considerable tension. Their situation will be able to truly improve only when livestock production becomes more profitable, because the various bonuses and the grants in excess of wages usually are linked to profitability. I wish to emphasize once again that the workers caring for the animals must have an incentive to achieve better results.

[Question] Finally, a question of interest to everyone: How will the higher state procurement prices affect consumers?

[Answer] Livestock products are procured at the official, capped prices. The setting of consumer prices is associated primarily with the policy on the standard of living. Therefore the producer and the consumer prices move independently of each other. In the case of meat and milk, there already were substantial consumer-price subsidies. Now these subsidies will be even higher.

ECONOMY

HUNGARY

CAUSES OF ECONOMIC PROBLEMS EXAMINED, LISTED

Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 2 Aug 86 pp 4-5

[Article by Andras Vertes, department head of the National Planning Office: "Where We Stand and Why"--boxed material by Laszlo Fodor, deputy secretary of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce and head of its Economic Main Department; first paragraphs, below and in box, are HETI VILAGGAZDASAG introductions]

[Text] We are well into the second half of 1986, and the principal trends of the Hungarian economy's performance this year are beginning to emerge. For the time being, the shortfall in relation to the 7th Five-Year Plan's targets is considerable. Therefore--as the department head of the National Planning Office points out in his article below--the economy's path of development must gradually be brought as close as possible to the targets specified in the plan.

There have been better six-month periods than the first half of 1986. Indeed, even under more difficult world economic, financial and trade conditions--in 1982 and 1983, for example--we were able to achieve better results than now. Consider first these facts.

Output has been rising at a very moderate rate in recent months. In comparison with the same period last year, gross industrial output has risen in the first six months at a rate of about 1 percent. A favorable phenomenon within this rise is the expansion of engineering's output by more than 5 percent. On the other hand, it is difficult to explain the output's decline in some areas of light industry and the chemical industry: in plastics fabrication, and in the production of commercial fertilizers and plant protectants, for example. Even the food industry's output has been lower than in the same period last year, which is due mainly to the smaller livestock population.

Output in the contracting construction industry has increased slightly, by nearly 2 percent, over the very low 1985 base period. Which means that the construction industry's performance remains far below its level two years ago.

The barely 1-percent expansion of production is associated with the problems of marketing and competitiveness. Hard-currency export has increased during the first half; but import has risen substantially faster, and thus the balance of trade has worsened. In ruble-denominated trade, import has expanded after many years of stagnation, and this has helped economic development. The

export plans also have been fulfilled in this area, and thus the situation in ruble-denominated trade is close to the desired equilibrium.

While economic performance has fallen far short of the targets, domestic expenditure has begun to perk up. Personal money incomes during the first half of the year have been nearly 9 percent higher than in the same period last year, and within this incomes from wages and wage-type benefits have increased by more than 8 percent. Which essentially means that our international competitiveness has deteriorated further in this respect. At the same time it is worth noting that the growth of incomes from small businesses has slowed down, after their exceptionally sharp rise in recent years. The consumer price level's rise has slightly exceeded the 5 percent planned. But even so the retail turnover has risen by about 3.5 percent, close to double the rate planned.

There are signs of an upsurge in the area of investments. Central investments are even lower than last year, but this is due to inadequate preparations for several of the large development projects, and in some instances to delays resulting from the payment mechanism's techniques. Disbursements for enterprise investments in the first six months have been perceptibly higher than in the same period last year, and the enterprises' demand for credit and other external sources of financing is more lively.

These phenomena of our economic development have also been reflected in the fiscal processes: the state budget's balance has worsened. Numerous central measures have been adopted to ensure that the budgetary deficit would not jeopardize the attainment of desirable economic objectives.

The action of the measures that macroeconomic management adopted to guide these processes in the right direction has been twofold: on the one hand, they have attempted to encourage favorable changes in the production structure; and on the other hand, by generally tightening the economic conditions, they have exerted pressure for the continuation of activities that are in the national economy's interest. Judging by the performances during the first six months, the adopted measures have not been successful in every respect.

The performance to date in improving external economic equilibrium, a preferential aspiration of economic policy, has been far short of adequate. In 1985, the national economy's midyear import surplus was close to 1 percent of annual national income, but by the end of the year we were able to achieve an export surplus that equaled about 2.5 percent of national income. Thus the balance of trade improved in the second half of 1985. But this year the import surplus at the end of the first half has exceeded 2 percent of annual national income. Although it would not be realistic to assume that the surplus targeted for nonruble-denominated trade in the plan (between 350 and 400 million dollars, see HETI VILAGGAZDASAG, 11 Jan 86) will be achieved, there are numerous indications that this trade balance could improve by the end of the year. (The trade deficit for the first six months has been about 350 million dollars. Editor.)

On the basis of the business conditions, the foreign markets do not rule out an improvement of the trade balance. Such an improvement will depend mainly on how seriously we heed the long-known truth that our present performances

are not enough to maintain our present position in the world. But if we fail to achieve by the end of the year the planned export surplus in the balance of our dollar-denominated trade, then also national income is very likely to fall short of its planned 2.3- to 2.7-percent growth rate. That the expansion of gross output will probably fall short of the plan in both industry and agriculture is another indication of this likelihood. (The plan calls for growth rates between 2 and 2.5 percent in industry, and between 3 and 3.5 percent in agriculture.)

One source of the problems is that the distribution "commitments" made on the basis of the more favorable economic situation assumed in the plan have more or less been retained automatically even under these conditions. From the above-mentioned and other indications we may infer that average real wages, real income, and personal consumption will exceed the plan. (The plan for this years targets a 1-percent rise in personal consumption, and a 1- to 1.5-percent rise in real income.) And the available enterprise resources permit somewhat more investment than has been planned. Thus an absolute overdistribution and a relative one (in relation to the produced resources) are equally likely this year.

It appears that from this situation we must draw several conclusions which will have to be applied to shaping economic development in the coming years. The following conclusions have been proven:

--That the objectives for which suitable permanent instruments of economic management are lacking in the plan cannot be achieved even with special grants (in other words, that the success of "helping" measures is very moderate);

--That economic growth cannot be stimulated artificially with central instruments. If these instruments are not based on a competitive domestic structure and active enterprise behavior, then they actually can merely alleviate temporarily some problem or other, but are unable to resolve the economy's chronic ills;

--Now it is even less feasible than it was in the past to broaden the possibilities of distribution, with reference to the national economy's future advantages (in other words, we must first produce the resources before we may spend them).

One cannot avoid the question: Is this really all the performance the Hungarian economy is capable of? Every objective study indicates that this is not the real issue here. The ageing capital assets are a fact, but the level of investment could permit a faster rate of their modernization even so. The problem here is that we often invest in development projects which yield hardly any return, if at all. The level of manpower utilization is likewise low. Lately we cannot even use the slow expansion of foreign markets as an excuse for our marketing difficulties. But it is true that the Hungarian economy has suffered painful losses in some areas, such as the export of agricultural products and refined petroleum products or coffee import, for example.

During the past 18 months, in my opinion, we have been unable to obtain from the Hungarian economy the performance of which it is actually capable. Several factors have played a role in this. The system of economic management, and



within it primarily the system of regulation, has not exerted sufficient pressure for higher performances. Mainly because of the extensive concessions and exemptions, but also because some of the solutions were poorly chosen. We cannot disregard the fact that the public mood, regrettably, demands rapid economic progress and solution of the problems, but barely accepts the requirement of working harder to achieve this. Finally, in my opinion, the sluggish results reflect also the fact that lately bargaining between the state agencies managing the economy and the enterprise managements has become even more frequent, over central guaranties for the conditions of economic activity, and over improving the conditions for the expansion of export. It is common knowledge that the effect of such bargaining is to hold back performance.

It is obvious that the first half of this year, in the same way as the first six months last year, has not provided a good starting base toward the economic development envisaged by the 7th Five-Year Plan. During the remaining months of this year, in conjunction with drafting next year's national economic plan, we must think through what must be done to bring the path of our development as close as possible to the intermediate-range plan's targets. And it is certain that this can take place only gradually.

[Box, p 5]

#### Laszlo Fodor: Causes and Consequences

Laszlo Fodor, deputy secretary general of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce and head of its Economic Department, catalogs in key words the causes of our economic difficulties and refers to the tasks awaiting us.

It is quite true and regrettable that, after 1985, the unfavorable economic processes have also continued in the first half of 1986, and have even intensified in several important areas. Today, in my opinion, one of our most important tasks is to objectively uncover the causes of the growing performance shortfalls. This task is essential because it will determine whether we realistically assess the economy's foreseeable performance this year and set accordingly for 1987 tasks that can and will be fulfilled.

The causes may be divided into two large groups. In one group belong the factors with whose effects we will have to reckon even over a longer period of time. Some of the more important factors in this group are as follows:

--The volume of investment is declining year after year, and its efficiency is low;

--The level of the productive import of materials and parts, and of machinery for investments, remains permanently low, and especially the import of advanced technologies has declined sharply. (A slight recovery has been noticeable during the past 18 months, but its extent is far from satisfactory);

--Due in part to the two aforementioned causes, and also to the absence of economic pressure, research and development has slowed down, ground to a halt in some areas; we are lagging behind the international development of science and technology, and our technological gap is widening year by year;

--The sources of our losses are kept in operation permanently and on an expanding scale; our production structure and product structure have become rigid.

Among the factors that are making themselves felt in the short term--although some of them, because of their very nature, will exert their influence in the long term as well--I would single out the following ones:

--The development of international raw-material prices in 1985 and 1986, thus of the prices of coffee, agricultural products, and petroleum (see our lead article under the International Economy rubric, on p 9);

--The consequences of the Chernobyl accident, and the EEC's response;

--Some contradictions and the unpredictability of economic regulation, the intensification of the problems in conjunction with incentives, and the rise of the bargaining mechanism;

--The problems of balancing the budget, the different views of the central agencies and of the enterprises on how to divide the produced incomes; the effects that the efforts to improve the budget's balance are having on the enterprises' operations, and the economic environment that is created in this manner.

The combined effect of all these factors is that the Hungarian economy's competitiveness and ability to generate income have declined, its terms of trade have worsened, and its unprofitable economic activity has increased. To radically change this situation for the better we need, in my opinion, a comprehensive series of measures in macroeconomic management and in the enterprise sphere as well. This cannot happen overnight. It is very important that the concepts for next year be based on a truly realistic assessment of our possibilities this year.

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CSO: 2500/442



ECONOMY

HUNGARY

## NEW CUSTOMS REGULATIONS RESTRICT PRIVATE IMPORTS

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Aug 86 p 4

[Interview with Judit Szabolcsi, Ministry of Finance section chief, by Maria Lakatos: "To Restrict Private Imports; Protecting the Purchasing Power of the Forint"]

[Text] As we reported in our Thursday [31 July] issue, the minister of finance and the minister of foreign trade have amended several earlier customs regulations. The new provisions significantly restrict so-called private imports. We interviewed Judit Szabolcsi, a Ministry of Finance section chief, regarding the reasons for the change and its foreseeable effects.

[Question] The customs regulations introduced since the beginning of the 1980's have been more and more liberal, and this is reflected in the merchandise that is being offered for sale. Why have now the customs regulations been tightened on goods that are imported by travelers or as gifts?

[Answer] The purpose of tightening the regulations is to help suppress the black market in foreign currencies, protect the forint's purchasing power, and curb unearned incomes. But I would like to call attention to the fact that the customs regulations remain liberal in general. As before, we are supporting imports of durables and other consumer goods purchased for one's own use. Travelers may continue to bring in duty free noncommercial quantities of such goods, up to a value of 6,000 forints. But we are not willing to let those persons derive conspicuously large incomes who have somehow been able to obtain foreign currency.

[Question] Cars are one of the sorest points in the supply of merchandise in Hungary today. More than 8000 cars a year have been imported as gifts up to now, and this has alleviated somewhat the increasingly intolerable situation. But from now on, in the case of cars imported as gifts, only one car per recipient may be entered for customs clearance every five years, instead of one every three years as up to now. Thus even this source of supply can be expected to shrink.

[Answer] We do not expect to solve the problem of cars predominantly through private import. It is no secret that negotiations are underway to solve in the long run the import of cars through various forms of international cooperation. In my opinion, incidentally, the increase from three years to five will

not produce any spectacular change from the viewpoint of import. On the other hand, the sharp operators' incomes that justifiably irritate public opinion can be expected to decline.

[Question] Cars are not the only item whose importation has been tightened. This is true also of consumer goods regarded as luxuries, and engineering products incorporating high technology. Here the 60-percent duty that skimmed off the difference between the customs valuation and the domestic sales price has been increased to 80 percent. Now the owners of goods not cleared by customs will be paid only 20 percent, instead of 50, of the proceeds from the auctioning of such goods. Or take, for example, the individual employees working abroad. When traveling home, they may bring in, duty free, goods with a value of up to 6000 forints only three times a year. Do you think that this will likewise not affect the domestic supply of merchandise?

[Answer] In my opinion, this will have no negative impact on the supply of merchandise that affects a wide circle of the population, or the impact will not manifest itself in the disappearance of all imported merchandise from the store windows. State trade also sells so-called luxury consumer goods--cosmetics, for example--and the supply is practically continuous. One is able to obtain also sophisticated appliances, although it must be admitted that there is not enough of the engineering products most in demand, such as copiers, video equipment or powerful electronic computers. However, the tighter import regulations are absolutely necessary, because the black market in foreign currencies has been assuming ever-greater proportions, due to the fact that a large part of the privately imported goods have been obtained with foreign currency bought in the black market. This measure will reduce the incomes of only a narrow circle of the population.

[Question] The present modifications will probably create hardships for many retailers, artisans, industrial artists and photographers. The basic materials, and the semifinished and finished products imported for them will now be restricted. Yet, such imports have probably been essential to their work.

[Answer] For some reason, there is never any mention of the very favorable changes which have been helping the work of this stratum lately. Prior to 1981, the duty-free limit on imports of the listed products, including also machinery, was only 30,000 forints. This was raised to 60,000 forints from 1981 to 1985, and to 200,000 forints as of 1 January 1985. The duty-free limit of 200,000 forints remains in effect for machinery, instruments and equipment, without any quantitative restrictions. We have tightened the regulations on the importation of materials, because such imports did not conform to our earlier objectives. The merchandise of artisans and retailers serves to improve the population's supply and aid export. But, with the currency purchased in the black market, we do not want to admit noncommercial quantities of consumer goods that are clearly intended for resale, because this obviously encourages profiteering without work. Incidentally, a separate import allocation, although limited, is available for production purposes. But export, for example, always gets the green light.

[Question] The purpose of the measures is to curb unearned incomes. But the decline of the supply of merchandise will necessarily affect wider masses,

although admittedly to a varying extent, depending on each individual's needs and pocketbook. How do you intend to offset this?

[Answer] As I have said, the decline in the supply of merchandise that you mention is not expected. Private import is a new phenomenon that has been assuming ever-greater proportions since the late 1970's and early 1980's. But basically it does not solve the problems in the supply of merchandise. The present measures are restricting private import.

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ECONOMY

POLAND

## GOVERNMENT ORDERS, OPERATIONAL PROGRAMS FOR 1987 ANNOUNCED

### Minister Describes Changes, Plans

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Aug 86 pp 1,2

[Article by Jan Markusz: "Government Orders and Operational Programs: Fewer Distributors, a Freer Market"]

[Text] (Own information) Discussions are continuing on the draft of the Central Yearly Plan for 1987. Just as in previous years, the integral component will be government orders and operational programs and at a press conference on 6 August, these were announced by the first deputy chairman of the Planning Commission, Franciszek Kubiczek.

Mr Kubiczek reminded those present that for the past three years, it has been the practice to set government orders and operational programs for the coming year 6 months in advance. This makes it possible to more quickly correlate one's own plans with these orders and programs. At the same time, the principle of planning for a period of several years will be continually broadened.

In accordance with its earlier announcements, the government will continue to reduce the number of operational programs. Four years ago, there were as many as 14 of these programs. This year, their number has been reduced to three and only two will still remain next year. However, these programs cover very important areas such as support of the food industry (agricultural equipment, spare parts, plant protection substances and bakery and dairy equipment) as well as provisions for the public health services. In the latter area, next year will see an increase in the level of supplies (such as pharmaceutical and sanitary products, apparatus, glass, orthopedic equipment and infant formula) of about 12-15 percent. About 327 million dollars will be allotted within an operational program to purchase necessary medicines and equipment from the second payments area.

According to the Council of Ministers' resolution of 28 July, a special list has been compiled that details government orders for materials, products and repair or construction services. The raw materials and materials to be ordered include bearings-grade steel products, acid-resistant steel, steel pipes and electronic, textile and leather products. There is also an extensive list of

cooperative products and spare parts such as precision bearings, microprocessors, electronic circuits, cables, condensers, printer's inks, spare parts for home appliances, etc. Future government orders will longer cover entire products or groups of products but will for the most part involve subassemblies and parts.

For the time being, however, the list of finished supply products will be extensive next year because items such as heaters, bathtubs, telephone switchboards, dyes, lacquers and pesticides must be had and their supply still does not meet demand.

A separate group is consumer products such as enamelled dishware, electrical washing machines, children's clothes, textbooks, leather shoes for children and youth, cleaning products and personal hygiene products. These should become more available under government orders.

There is indeed strong pressure from ministries and provinces to "add" various investments to government orders but as Minister F. Kubiczek has said, their list for the coming years has not grown in even one area. In the future, efforts will be made to further reduce the amount of these items in government orders.

It was stated that an important step toward the second stage of economic reform has been accomplished with the reorganization of the supply of materials and raw materials. The extent of their rationing will be continually reduced. Following close analysis of the plan for government orders, 58 items or 40 percent of the centrally allotted amount of raw material and materials were dropped. As Minister Franciszek Kubiczek pointed out, reationing artificially increases the shortage of an item. Therefore, as the supply of certain items improves, rationing will be gradually dropped so that by 1990, there will only remain a few items of key importance to the economy. It is thought that a more rational price policy might create a normal consumer market. This in turn demands the consistent embodiment of an austerity program to improve the balance of materials and raw materials.

There is also planned a radical reduction of central control over the turnover of market goods. For next year, it is already being planned that the number of goods subject to central control will be cut in half.

#### Commentary Evaluates New Resolution

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA (REFORMA GOSPODARCZA Supplement No 82) in Polish 7 Aug 86  
p 1

[Text] The decisions included in the published decrees of the Council of Ministers have far in advance given businesses the information they need to work out their plans for both the coming year and for the period up to 1990. These decisions affected areas of key importance such as the extent of government orders and operational programs for the coming year and to a lesser extent those for the period leading up to 1989. At the beginning of 1987, distribution of construction machinery and transport will be abolished and replaced with a more elastic form of required sales mediation. At the beginning of next year, there will also be suspended the obligatory mediation in the sales of 33 articles

including asphalt, metal powders, heaters, drainboard sinks, bathtubs, steel cord, automotive batteries and many food items. The list of consumer goods subject to central control will be limited to 58 items and at the same time, central control over any items produced by small industries will be totally abolished. Finally, these decisions establish up to 1990 the principles for scheduling depreciation which will include many changes favorable to businesses.

This brief description of the decisions should encourage one to learn more about the content of the decision by the Council of Ministers. That is necessary to determine what sort of offer the government is presenting businesses for participation in the realization of government orders and operational programs. Participation is becoming much more clearly attractive because of the changes to the structure of orders. This is connected with the liquidation next year of the yearly operational program for public transportation and its replacement with longer-term government orders. The two remaining operational programs will also be liquidated in 1988 and will be converted as quickly as possible to government orders. The orders' attraction for businesses should also increase the preservation under a general growth in production of the overall scope of government orders at an unchanged level and this in turn will improve the ability of the executors of government orders to meet supply priorities (on foreign currency, raw materials and materials). These executors will be selected on the basis of efficiency bidding and starting next year, the same method of selecting executors will also become obligatory for operational programs.

Semifinished products continue to take the dominant position for government orders because any shortage of them creates bottlenecks in the production of many finished products and especially consumer goods and export products. The introduction to the list of orders for repair and construction services is a novel change that should do much to bring about their necessary dynamic growth.

Next year, the status of government orders may be attained by agreements between firms only to the extent that the amount of the contracted goods and services does not exceed the ceiling set by the orders. This means that firms can contract for amounts even exceeding the ceiling but supply preferences will only be given to the amount of production that lies in accordance with the figure set by the government order. This limitation has been dictated by the paucity of available resources and must be maintained in the interests of all executors of government orders because it would be impossible to guarantee a supply of production materials to them unless the amount of that production were controlled in some way. This limitation is suspended in only a few cases that are strictly defined in the list of government orders.

Firms realizing investments covered this year by government orders have gained confirmation of the present status of these investments for the coming year if that investment is scheduled to be continued into 1987. The list of these investments for 1987 will be supplemented at the end of the current year by government orders taking the place of investments completed in 1986 and possibly also the investments that will be dropped from the list of government orders because of serious investor and executor neglect that has greatly delayed their realization. These investments will not be dropped automatically but only after each case has been individually considered.

Government orders and operational programs are an important but not universal or decisive instrument for controlling the structure of production. They were made necessary by unbalanced markets and the need for socially and economic production to have greater precedence. However, it is not possible to continue enlarging the scope and functions of government orders and quite the contrary, it has become necessary to more quickly restrict them and allow general economic mechanisms to act more fully.

This is because, as the economy is more and more normalized, government orders lose their effectiveness and therefore their supply preferences. This is also because of the need to regulate production on a large scale rather than by individual sectors (as did government orders) and it is only the fundamental economic instruments and mechanisms that can so regulate production on a large scale. In turn, the effectiveness of these instruments largely depends on the degree to which commerce is subject to rationing.

Considering all of the above, we can consider the direction and meaning of the Council of Ministers' decisions as a serious limitation to rationing. These decisions above all exclude very many articles from obligatory sales mediation and completely do away with the previous distribution of construction machinery and transportation. It must be openly said that the conditions for this have still not come completely into fruition.

With varying intensity, the excess of demand over supply is continuing. The price structure is not in its best order. It is true that the suspension of obligatory mediation for certain articles can reduce these problems to their minimum but cannot overcome them completely.

Should we therefore wait and act once all the conditions are ripe? If we were to do so, it would hamper the progress of the second stage of economic reform which was announced by the 10th Congress. The preservation of even such restricted forms of rationing such as obligatory mediation actually reduces the pressure to achieve economic equilibrium and proper pricing. Therefore, wherever the conditions are not quite ready but close to being ready, the suspension of obligatory mediation and distribution should create a strong incentive for efforts to accelerate the normalization of markets for particular products.

This too was the intent of decisions to limit the extent of central control over the regional distribution of consumer goods and those decisions were made because of the improvement in successive segments of the market. Wherever the equilibrium remains fragile, the suspension of central control is a special expression of confidence in the responsibility of trade organizations. This feeling of responsibility together with business experience should reach fruition in a regional distribution of supplies much better than was possible under central control. A good knowledge of local demand is also very important because without that, we will continue seeing long lines for a certain provinces while others have to store their own surpluses of the same.

The suspension of central control over products manufactured by small industries, as an incentive for realizing the Council of State's and Council of Ministers'

joint resolution on the development of state-owned small industry, should stimulate local governments to intensify the growth of production by these establishments which would benefit the local market.

It is not necessary to urge businesses to become familiar with decisions on depreciation schedules. However, it is worth pointing out that this will be regulated until 1990 and that depreciations will be left intact for the time it takes to pay off investment credits.

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CS0: 2600/639



ECONOMY

POLAND

#### TASK FORCE DEBATES LIVING WAGE DETERMINANTS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Aug 86 p 2

[Text] On 6 August, a team of minimum wage experts gathered in the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs to summarize the results of work done up to now. This team consists of representatives from trade unions, academic establishments studying this problem and interested departments and institutions. The decision was made to issue a report on the present findings of the team. This report would also include alternate proposals on problems in which there were differences of opinion. The report will be sent to the government and the National Federation of Trade Unions.

As Editor Romana Kalecka of the Polish Press Agency writes: "The several months of discussion among this small group of experts has led to similar opinions on many problems. Generally speaking, it has been decided and agreed upon that two subjects will be analyzed. The first of these is a pattern for the structure and level of consumption of families and single persons, meaning the satisfaction of biological, cultural and social needs to the necessary extent and also to the extent possible under the country's given social and economic situation. At the same time, it would also be necessary to separately consider the so-called social or protective minimum which could become an obligatory point of reference for granting social welfare".

The principal difference of opinion concerned the first category. In the opinion of representatives of academia and the labor ministry, it would be appropriate to replace the present definition of the social minimum with a new one referred to as the necessary pattern of consumption. This is obviously not just a problem of terminology but the practical goals of such a change. Up to now, the social minimum has been calculated as the sum of money needed to purchase necessary products and services. However, the results of these studies have not had any substantial effect on either the income policy nor the structure of consumption. Meanwhile, the proposed definition would offer a specific and concrete standard and indicate a pattern of consumption for a specific level of civilization. This standard could then be used to request that the government include the production of necessary items in its economic planning.

At the same time, unionists that see their official duty in making regular studies of income and the cost of living have called out for the preservation of the traditional definition of a social minimum as established by a Council

of Ministers resolution in 1981. They have also pointed out that the public is perfectly aware of how the traditional interpretation functions and is applied. In response to the fundamental question of whether we wish to guarantee our people more money or products, they say that one cannot distinguish a set of goods and services from its money value. It was therefore decided to write a series of variants on how to deal with this sore point.

This helped to achieve a greater similarity of opinions on what comprises the social minimum and especially the type of foods necessary according to standards set by the Institute of Food and Nutrition. However, the unionists used the standards of the Mother and Child Institute to call for a higher standard for child nutrition. They were also suspicious of several other points such as the estimated period for the use of clothes which they felt was too long and did not account for recent worsening in clothing quality. It was decided that these problems would be later discussed with representatives from specialized research centers.

Meanwhile, the team agreed unanimously on a matter that had until recently been a matter of dispute and that is whether the results of studies on the social minimum should be published. It was felt that the publication of such findings would not necessarily lead people to compare their own situation with the standard and start making claims for compensation. It was felt that the emergence of such attitudes could be prevented and would be in the interests of the trade unions to prevent and this could be achieved by informing the public as to how the social minimum was calculated, what purpose it serves, how the actual level and structure of consumption in Poland has reached its present stage, average household incomes and expenses and the structure of market supplies.

What purpose is to be served by this standard? In the opinion of the team, it should be used as an instrument for diagnosing social policy and as a means of determining the lowest allowable pensions and retirement pay and other forms of welfare. The standard should also be helpful in educating the public, reaching the desired structure of consumption and in rationally managing limited income. We must not, however, think of this as any form of wage policy because that is not a concern that cannot be guided by social criteria.

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CSO: 2600/664

ECONOMY

POLAND

## SPARE PARTS SHORTAGE STRONGLY CRITICIZED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 5 Aug 86 p 3

[Article by Krystyna Gasiorowska: "Service On Bended Knees Or Where Are We To Get Spare Parts?"]

[Text] "If I had four legs, two long ones and two short ones, then dear God, I could be short and then tall as I pleased...". These are the words of a cabaret song and because they describe an impossibility, they fit our situation with services like a glove.

"If we had more spare parts, we would repair more equipment," say the repair shops. "We would make more spare parts if it were more profitable and we had better opportunities to do so," say the producers. "If the quality of equipment were better, frequent repairs would be unnecessary," say quality controllers from the State Trade Inspectorate. And the people that roll that equipment to various "tinkerers" say: "To hell with it!".

We are producing more and more every year: washers, refrigerators, tape recorders, radios and vacuum cleaners. We are producing so much that it is becoming more and more expensive while the quality is getting ever worse. State Trade Inspectorate officials say that last year, the quality of color televisions and tape recorders dropped considerably. In 1985, every (statistically speaking) color television had to be repaired twice during its warranty period. At that time, those sets cost 150,000 zlotys and have recently risen to 200,000. That is a lot of money. It is therefore not at all surprising that the people who own such equipment are angry about the quality.

Things are not so bad during the warranty period but once that expires, a person pays a mint for repairs. The picture tube for a new color television costs 18,000 zlotys regeneration another 11,000. Picture tube regeneration is necessary because they are so few of these available. For example, this year there will be 500,000 black-and-white televisions in the shops but only 550,000 picture tubes will be produced. This means that only 50,000 picture tubes will be available for repair shops. A person will have to wait weeks to get a new tube or have an old one regenerated. For another example, about 14 million vacuum cleaners are lying around unused because of a lack of motors...

## From Bended Knees to Arbitration

Director Lech Sadzinski from the Capitol Internal Trade Enterprise cannot accept the fact that so much equipment is lying unused because of a lack of parts. People do want to use these articles but if they can find no way to get them repaired, they buy new ones. This artificially increases demand that ends up exceeding supplies.

For that reason, Director Sadzinski asked the State Arbitration Bureau to rule how long the producer of a finished product is required to take to supply necessary spare parts. So far, there has been no official ruling on this problem because the bureau feels that it is the responsibility of industry to provide spare parts for as long as the equipment is in use.

This enterprise very often turns to the State Arbitration Bureau to settle conflicts with factories. It already knows the producers that it feels are the worst ones and these are the Warsaw Television Works and the Gdansk Unitra Factory. They do not provide spare parts and for that reason, there is not a single black-and-white television picture tube to be had in Warsaw. There is a real crunch on various types of motors, centrifugal machines for vacuum cleaners and bands for tape recorders. The situation with bearings has already become tragic. Bearings have been standardized so the producer in Rzeszow came up with the brilliant idea of letting repair shops buy them themselves on the market...

Officially speaking, various exchanges provide merchants with spare parts. If these exchanges do not provide the necessary supply of parts, Director Sadzinski appeals to the arbitration bureau. The producer is then compelled to sign a legally-binding agreement and pay a fine for failing to meet his obligations. This year, the Capital Domestic Trade Enterprise has already won 10 such cases against unreliable producers.

Not all of the merchants in the country can employ such sanctions and are afraid of provoking their suppliers. Arbitration is looked upon as being the final step. Most often, they just ask the producer for what they need and often do so on bended knees.

### Shameful Attitudes

This shortage of spare parts is hard to understand when many of the products for which these parts cannot be found have been manufactured under government orders. These include items such as automatic washers, rotary washers, refrigerators, irons, vacuum cleaners and black-and-white televisions.

The attitude toward spare parts is shameful. With the final product, what you see is what you get. The factories therefore reckon that "we have turned out 10,000 washers 'more'" which sounds much better than "we have made 10,000 more electrical pumps".

At trade fairs, merchants should not sign purchase contracts unless the producers do not sign a service agreement for spare parts. Unfortunately, with the general shortage of products, if one merchant does not agree to buy something, another

will be glad to just like in the song "If not this one, then another". Therefore, merchants are compelled to buy products. They say the situation is the same as it was before the reform. Producers add that they cannot make money producing parts for their products regardless of the fact that spare parts prices are not being limited this year...

### Too Many Cooks Spoil the Broth

Many producers do not really believe that their equipment is breaking down that often and that is why they often organize their own repair services such as Unitra-Serwis and Polar. After all, the producers feel that the commercial repair services do not have specialists with the right experience. In Warsaw for example, Unitra has hired many people from the SPHW. This commercial enterprise has its own special school for training electricians.

Producer service is increasing but that is not the case with needed spare parts. There are therefore a lot of disputes, some organizations are luring specialists away from others and at the same time, the quality and availability of service remains just as bad. The only difference is that the customer just has a different place to run to with his broken equipment.

It does not mean much that services can count on preferences, tax reductions and a beneficial ratio of productivity to earnings when they cannot do anything for a lack of parts. What good is it that old parts are being regenerated and restored if they cannot be fixed for good?

How many broken vacuum cleaners, refrigerators and televisions can our houses hold? How many people can afford to buy completely new equipment to replace old articles that could be fixed if the conditions were any better?

It is finally time to make the right decisions to make production of spare parts as profitable or more profitable than finished products. The attempts that have been made up to now to work out a system of cooperation with small manufacturers and craftsmen have been too slight. After all, it is a known fact that the producers of final products in developed countries are surrounded by scores of small craft shops that work for these giants.

We have to break the vicious circle. It is just hard to believe that here at the end of the 20th century, we are making complicated products without being able to repair them.

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CSO: 2600/664

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#### BRIEFS

**NUCLEAR PLANT ENGINES**--The Zgoda Technical Equipment Factory in Swietochlowice has already produced 21 engines for emergency power in nuclear power plants. This production began in 1982 and has become a new specialty for this well-known manufacturer of ship's engines and mining machinery. It is also part of Poland's area of specialization under the international division of work among CEMA member nations. These 21 emergency back-up generators have been sold to the USSR. Czechoslovakia has already purchased 18 of them and three were bought by Bulgaria. Zgoda recently signed a contract with the German Democratic Republic to build three of these engines in 1988. The plant in Swietochlowice has also built such engines for the first Polish nuclear power plant which is presently being built in Zarnowiec. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Aug 86 p 1] 12261

**GENERATORS FOR ZARNOWIEC PLANT**--As Engineer Ignacy Sieroslowski, the plenipotentiary for new initiatives at the Dolmel Electrical Machinery Factory in Wroclaw, has informed us, tasks undertaken this year to produce 465-MW turbine generators for the nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec are being successfully realized. Work places are now being prepared for the next stages of production. For example, the work stations at which the turbine generators are weighed are being remodeled and modernized. Several cooperative firms are taking part in this project and they include the Gdansk Power Industry Repair Works, the Nysa Industrial Equipment Works, the Energy Systems Automation Institute of Gdansk and Wroclaw and the Elta Works in Lodz. Four units will be built successively on a schedule meeting the construction of the Zarnowiec Nuclear Power Plant. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2-3 Aug 86 p 1] 12261

**NEW BRIDGE IN USE**--The bridgeover the Oslawa River has been opened in Zagorze (Krosno Province). This is a steel and concrete bridge 75 meters in length access approaches and a railway crossing. It was built with much help from the local public. The inhabitants of Zagorze and especially the neighborhood of Wielepole donated much of their own money to purchase materials for the bridge. The workers of several places of work in Sanok such as the Autosan Bus Factory also came to help build the bridge joining the neighborhoods of this city. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Aug 86 p 1] 12261

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POLITICS

HUNGARY

NEW LOCAL PPF PUBLICATION TO INFORM, GAIN SUPPORT

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 4 Aug 86 p 9

[Article: "A Guide for PPF Activists"]

[Text] This year's No 2 issue of NEPFront HIRADO, published by the Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Megye PPF Committee, offers not only useful advice to PPF activists, but also many items of information for citizens responsive to public affairs in the megye.

The publication reports on the May session of the Megye PPF Committee, at which a recommendation was adopted regarding the tasks of voluntary public work and political activity to aid the realization of the megye's long-range concept of regional and local development. The recommendation suggests that the citizens living in the megye be consulted in every stage of implementing the proposed development projects, so as to uncover the opportunities for strengthening the economies of our towns and villages, and improving the population's living conditions. The recommendation deems it important that the PPF locals regularly debate such important questions of social and economic policy as development of the demographic situation, the timely questions of employment policy, and the range of topics on labor discipline and doing one's duty.

In the interest of achieving the objectives of our open urban and community policy, it will be expedient for the PPF locals to keep themselves informed about new opportunities to expand the homeworking system, the complementary and ancillary operations, and the utilization of fallow lands. In small settlements and underdeveloped areas, it is advisable to urge constantly the upgrading of the supply of necessities, and the expansion of the consumer services that tradesmen provide. The recommendation urges the PPF locals, as parts of local politics, to join the local councils in formulating regional environmental-protection and nature-conservation programs, to hold regular environmental-protection inspections, and to help develop local patriotism by fostering traditions. Furthermore, the Megye PPF Committee's recommendation suggests that the PPF locals help to develop relations between school, family and community, and also provide more voluntary public support for all association, neighborhood and reading-circle efforts. In addition, the PPF locals should muster public support for education and culture, including the establishment of community centers and the organization of people's colleges.

Another report in the publication is on the cooperation agreement that the Presidium of the Megye PPF Committee has concluded with the Presidium of the Megye Trade Union Council. This document identifies the joint efforts of the PPF and trade-union committees in conjunction with implementing the plans for the development of settlements, fulfilling our economic-policy tasks, and perfecting our public life.

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CSO: 2500/428



POLITICS

POLAND

#### GORZOW PROVINCIAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE MEETS

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 16 Jul 86 pp 1-2

[Article by (sc): "Provincial Defense Committee Meeting in Gorzow: Effects of the Transportation Inspection: Patriotic and Defense Education by Youth"]

[Text] The Gorzow Provincial Defense Committee learnt at its session of yesterday about the effects of an inspection carried out by the traffic services of the Provincial Internal Security Office, by its Inspection of Motor Vehicles Management, and by other professional supervision units. Most attention was paid to fuel economy, technical proficiency, and proper exploitation of the load-carrying capacities. The irregularities and abuses most frequently discovered consisted of violation of the fuel consumption standards, the use of vehicles equipped with inefficient or unauthorized meters, falsification of entries in the travel-logs, as well as dispatching vehicles inefficient or insufficiently loaded. The use of load-carrying capacity of various vehicles and the fuel management by units subordinated to the Ministry of Agriculture, were censured.

Among other conclusions and recommendations, the Provincial Defense Committee laid stress on the need to strengthen the internal inspection and to improve the work of dispatchers in transportation units.

The implementation of assignments concerned with patriotic and defense education of school students and conscripts, carried out by the education authorities and institutions, by administrative offices, socialist youth organizations, as well as by the National Defense League and the veterans' association, were also discussed. The need to improve forms and better to coordinate all the relevant tasks was also pointed out.

The meeting was chaired by Governor Stanislaw Nowak, chairman of the Provincial Defense Committee; Stefan Szymanski, chairman of the ZSL Provincial Committee, and Jan Gawel, chairman of the SD Provincial Executive, were also present.

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POLITICS

POLAND

TARNOW DEFENSE COMMITTEE CONSIDERS 'MOST URGENT' ASSIGNMENTS

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 17 Jul 86 p 2

[Article: "Provincial Defense Committee Meets in Tarnow"]

[Text] The Provincial Defense Committee, presided by Wladyslaw Pacyna, chief of the Provincial Military Staff, held its session with the participation of Wladyslaw Plewniak, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Tarnow.

The second stage of the POSESJA operation, carried out in the Tarnow province between 25 May and 15 June this year, was discussed. During the operation 31,715 real estate lots, 1,233 trade and service outlets, and 529 workplaces were inspected. 144 sanitary shortcomings, 1,077 administrative misdemeanors, 266 violations of the fire prevention code, and 140 irregularities in registration, were found. A comparison between the results of the first stage of the operation and the most recent one indicates that there has been some improvement in the sanitary and administrative situation throughout the towns and villages of Tarnow Province.

At the meeting it was decided that the most urgent assignments concern:

- setting up public garbage dumps in towns and villages;
- supplying enterprises responsible for cleaning with the necessary equipment, motor vehicles, wastebaskets, etc.;
- multifaced regulation of sewage;
- further pressure on workplaces and institutions, as well as on cooperative, self-management, and sociopolitical institutions, to initiate actions aimed at maintaining exemplary order, beauty, and property care, as well as take parks, squares, streets, and public transportation stations under their auspices;
- people responsible should be fully taken to task for proper discharging their sanitary and administrative duties.

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CSO: 2600/629

POLITICS

POLAND

SOVIET AMBASSADOR, JOURNALISTS MEET IN WARSAW

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jul 86 p 2

[PAP item, "Meeting with the USSR Ambassador: To Overcome All Shortcomings Clearly Pointed Out at the CPSU 27th Congress"]

[Text] On 23 July, within the traditional Forum in the PPR Association of Journalists in Warsaw, a meeting was held with the Soviet ambassador, Vladimir Brovikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee. Its subject: "The Soviet Union in the Aftermath of the CPSU 27th Congress."

As a direct participant at the Congress of the Soviet Communists, [the ambassador] pointed out that the debates and the decisions made at the congress had inaugurated some real prospects for rapid development of the Soviet Union until the end of the present century. Having described the concept of increased growth designed by the congress, he then critically dealt with some commentaries published in the West, which tend to explain the need for acceleration by an alleged "economic crisis" in the USSR. What kind of a crisis can we talk about, if over the last quarter of a century the industrial capacity of the Soviet Union has multiplied fourfold, agricultural production has doubled, and many millions families have just been assigned new apartments?--the ambassador posed a rhetoric question. It is important, however, to overcome some shortcomings which the 27th Congress pointed out by name. They include, for instance, changes in the economic management system, as well as the need for steady raising living standards of the entire society. The ambassador quoted many facts which clearly indicate the visible process of acceleration in various areas, and stressed out that it had been run--just as previously it had been initiated--by the CPSU.

The growing offensive character of the Soviet mass media, the intensification of cooperation between socialist countries, the effects of the Soviet economic experiment, and the European aspects of the Soviet peace policy--were among the issues raised by journalists who addressed to the Soviet diplomat numerous questions. The ambassador pointed out in reply that the activity of the Soviet press, radio, and TV after the 27th Congress, even more than before, has been inspired by criticism, but that is just one part of a much broader process the Soviet Union is now undergoing. A "propaganda of complacency" suits neither needs nor tasks the party has assigned to the media.

In a socialist society no target may be accomplished just by administrative methods; first of all--and here Vladimir Brovnikov referred to V.I. Lenin's writings--one has to convince people about such goals. Discussing cooperation between states--members of the CEMA, he pointed out how, in his view, it can be made closer. Bilateral cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union too, albeit very extensive, is being broadened systematically. At present some 100 factories and 50 scientific centers and institutions in each of our countries cooperate, but those figures could be raised many times over. The ambassador recalled the talks Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mikhail Gorbachev had held with some Polish workers during the Soviet leader's visit to the PZPR 10th Congress; it has been underlined then, that the peoples of Poland and of the Soviet Union had been historically linked in a comradeship in arms, and should now remain linked in a brotherhood of work. The economic experiment in the Soviet Union, the ambassador said, has brought about some measurable effects. If in 1984 enterprises working according to the new system amounted to a 5 percent share of total industrial production, this year, as their number has grown, their share has amounted to 50 percent. Recalling the recent visits to Moscow by statesmen from France and the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as the Soviet foreign minister's visit to London, the ambassador reminded [the audience] that such facts indicate a much more realistic assessment made in Western Europe, concerning the situation in Europe and all over the world, within the context of specific peace initiatives of the USSR.

12485/12379

CSO: 2600/629

POLITICS

POLAND

#### GOVERNMENT MEASURES SATIRIZED IN PRON ORGAN

##### Economic Inconsistencies Parodied

Warsaw ODRÓDZENIE in Polish No 28, 12 Jul 86 p 13

[Text] A many-sided analysis of Poland's economic situation has been worked out by Johnny Pazurek, our all-economics expert. While not as good as one would have liked them to be, his findings are not as awful as our nasty enemies are pretending.

##### Synopsis:

1. There is work galore but those really working are few and far between.
2. Few are those who are working but all plans have been fulfilled, frequently overfulfilled.
3. The plans have been fulfilled but there is little to be found in stores.
4. Little to be found in stores but everyone has everything he wishes to have.
5. Everyone has everything he wishes to have but all are grumbling.

Summing up, Johnny Pazurek, the expert, attempted to reach historic conclusions: There is no ill wind that does not become worse. And the other way round. Pazurkologists are now attending symposia and conferences to discuss what "the other way round" does mean. The results of their cogitations will be made know soon by

Your Informer

##### 'Preventive Measures' Taken to Task

Warsaw ODRÓDZENIE in Polish No 28, 12 Jul 86 p 13

[Text] It is quite sure that poppy cakes are going to be more expensive or, worse, nonexistent. The appetite of homegrown drug addicts is so tremendous that all of us have lived to see drastic restrictions regarding poppy cultivation. Chaired by Jan Pazurek, university lecturer, the Citizens'

Committee for Preventive Measures passed a further few resolutions to be considered by national opinion in the interest of public health:

1. Stop growing wheat and potatoes, for these are raw materials for the distillation of vodka, and vodka makes citizens into drunks.
2. Stop the cultivation of sugar beets used to make sugar which is processed into moonshine, and such illicit distillation adversely affects the interests of the Ministry of Finance.
3. Stop rearing carp and trout—citizens are choking on fishbones. In extreme cases, breed boneless fish.
4. Stop the production of railings and equalizers. Among other uses, at country dancing parties, these do away with a certain proportion of manpower. And it is well-known that Poland is suffering from acute labor shortages.
5. Stop production of matches, the principal means of burning forests and rural buildings down.
6. Rivers and lakes are to be drained because the number of people drowning keeps increasing from year to year. Or otherwise lower the level of bodies of water down to a half meter so that solely the most stubborn suicides will manage to drown.
7. Fell all trees along the roads so as to eliminate the loss of drunken drivers.

This is to begin with. The list of suggestions continues open, of course.

Informer

#### Tampering for Dollars

Warsaw ODRÓDZENIE in Polish No 30, 26 Jul 86 p 13

[Text] I have received a letter from the U.S.A. It was well wrapped up in a plastic bag, quite Christmas-like. Inside the bag, an envelope stamped to read: "Letter damaged outside Poland." This would mean that somewhere aloft, between New York and Warsaw (Atlantic Ocean, UK, Holland, FRG, GDR) my letter has been damaged by someone, and that there was a stamp as above, provided for such occurrences.

In order to confirm that it could only have happened abroad, I should state that whenever letters reach me from Mogielnica, Klaj, Grojec or Wachock, they are neither damaged nor wrapped in plastic.

It is funny that my letters from Poland to America are never damaged. There must be something to it, but what?

This was the question I have addressed to Jan Pazurek, University lecturer, the well-known GPO expert.

The expert said: "Letters are being damaged by treasure hunters."

"I never" I mumbled.

That's where Lecturer Jan Pazurek touched his forehead, letting me know I was a fool, and that everyone was aware letters coming from America contained dollars, and so there were reasons for their arriving damaged.

I have understood. So what? I must advise whomsoever it may concern that I am not getting dollars under the cover of the letters addressed to me. Dear treasure hunters, there is little you can put in an envelope.

My dollars are reaching me inside parcels.

Please remember.

Your Correspondent

5174/12379

CSO: 2600/609

POLITICS

POLAND

ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSES, DEBATES 'MORAL CRISIS' ISSUE

Warsaw ODRODZENIE in Polish No 22, 31 May 86 pp 1, 3-4, 6-7, 9, 13

[Roundtable discussion reported by Danuta Frey: "Crisis In Morals or Morality At a Time of Crisis: Editorial Discussion"]

[Text] To punish or educate? What do the crime statistics say? Why do people drink? How did drug addiction begin in Poland? Does society need a moral renewal? These are some of the questions we presented in the latest roundtable organized by ODRODZENIE and dedicated to the problems of moral renewal.

The participants were: Romualda Chruszczow, chairman of the Warsaw PRON Council's Commission on Legislation and Legality and a prosecutor in the office of the General Prosecutor, Professor Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, Sejm deputy and chairman of the National PRON Council's Commission on Moral Rebirth and Public Civil Education, Stanislaw Kolodziej, secretary general of the Chief Directorate of the Polish Lawyer's Association, Jacek Krzekotowski, vice-chairman of the Lodz Provincial PAX Association, Jan Kucharski, production distributor at the Lenin Steel Mills and chairman of the Nowa Huta Neighborhood PRON Council, Marek Lochowski, prosecutor in the office of the Bialystok Provincial Prosecutor, Dr Wladyslaw Patulski, director of the Family and Juvenile Affairs Department of the Justice Ministry, Professor Anna Przeclawska, dean of the Pedagogical Department of Warsaw University and member of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Warsaw PRON Council and Father Teodor Wisniowski, parson for the parish of St Andrzej Bobolo in Czestocnowa and chairman of the Czestochowa Provincial Caritas Association. ODRODZENIE was represented by its chief editor, Jerzy Grzybczak, and by Danuta Frey and Izabela Lewandowska.

[J. Grzybczak] Moral rebirth is one of the greatest tasks that the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth was established to fulfill. Aside from the political and economic crisis, the moral crisis poses an enormous threat to



the growth of our country. It is not surprising that one of the first meetings of the PRON National Council was dedicated to just this problem. The moral crisis has now become a nationwide problem. The PZPR's campaign against social pathology and crime is continuing. In our discussion, we wish to consider the sources of our moral crisis and various negative trends in our society. The answers to these questions and diagnosis of the situation will give us the conclusions we need to act against these negative signs.

One might ask whether Poland, in relation to other countries around the world, is in any worse position with regard to social pathologies. Are these Polish problems also European and world problems? How do we eliminate them? How do we popularize examples of both positive and negative behavior? Do we have the right patterns of behavior to offer the public? How is PRON supposed to take part in a moral renewal campaign?

[D. Frey] Let me ask still another question; due to its spectacular nature, is such a campaign not aimed at times at distracting the public from other issues and problems and is there not an alternative subject? Are we dealing with a broad, grass-roots and public need or a campaign initiated and orchestrated from above?

[M. Kozakiewicz] I think that the moral state of society cannot be judged separately from the economic state or the political conditions. All three go hand in hand. We cannot suddenly isolate morality and say that it has been hurt because some evil forces may have lowered our moral standards and that people are acting one way or another.

In light of what we have said so far, the danger of a "campaign for moral renewal" is that it would treat "the state of morality" and "moral renewal" in abstraction from any historical or social context. In my opinion, we cannot discuss the moral renewal of society without also considering a renewal of the government. We cannot condemn or try to eliminate evil from the behavior of individuals without eliminating it from the functioning of economic and political structures and institutions. At the same time, the other side of the problem is somehow diminished although both sides have only now begun to show the depth and severity of the problem. The morality of a people is not the result of moral education and moral evil is not the result of what is good or bad but but of practical training in a certain type of morality and a knowledge of what it pays to do in life and vice versa. If we reward obedient and submissive social behavior, we cannot expect to produce bold innovators or revolutionizers. If we punish engaged, courageous and independent activity, these traits will disappear. The same is true of morality: how often do people lose something or are passed up, vexed, not advanced or go unrecognized because they spoke or acted according to their own conscience and beliefs? How often has this favored the growth of attitudes that run against our moral standards and dampened the voice of conscience and any tendency to follow one's conscience?

At the same time, I feel that the zeal for renewal and reformation in the great structures of our Polish system is weakening. Conservative tendencies are growing stronger and that denotes a renaissance and reinforcement (rather than liquidation or at least weakening) of the social roots of moral evil.

that alarms us so much. The "reformers" are on the defensive and the "conservatives" have taken the offensive (and the most obvious examples are the practical hindrance of economic reform). In this climate, I find it hard to be enthusiastic about the a campaign of "moral renewal" seen primarily as a search for better methods of influencing the moral awareness of people. It is said that maybe we should improve and radio and television programming and that there might be a shortage of the right films and literature. Maybe the right personal examples are missing. People wonder whether more art and culture might work to lessen moral evil. Someone said that we must establish a codex of the virtues of a contemporary Pole and use that as an instrument of moral rebirth. Someone else sees in a return to tradition (such as teaching small children the old verse: "Who are you? A little Pole...") the means of restoring youthful patriotism. Many feel that the roots of evil are to be found in the family or schools which "should" do this or that for youth... Certainly, they "should" but both families and schools are also threatened by the same moral illnesses and influences as are individuals. They can treat the problem no better than a doctor can treat an illness that he himself has caught and is spreading. In my opinion, the discussion participants that make the most sense are the ones that see a remedy to the problem in discipline, punishment and legal preventive action. The only problem is this approach does not lead to a moral renewal even though it can lessen the extent of social pathology. A person who does nothing wrong because he fears punishment is not a moral person but a prudent one who knows what pays and what does not. His actions are not motivated by his conscience or any respect for moral law but sober calculation and a desire to avoid paying fines or being imprisoned. Furthermore, under certain circumstances, the law can be used to do things that are completely legal but totally immoral. Many examples of that can be found in any country. Finally, the functioning of the law itself depends on the social conditions under which the judicial system operates (real judicial independence, one standard of justice for all, etc.). That is the main idea that I would like to express at the start of this discussion: no moral renewal of society can be carried out without a fundamental economic, political and also moral change of the system in which we are born, grow up, live and act. Only when all other aspects of social life are renewed can children's verse, codexes of virtues, personal examples and art and culture have an effect and it is only then that we can expect the families and schools to do what they "should" do. That sounds brutal but it is, unfortunately, the truth. Unless we bring about all of these changes, we are only fooling ourselves and throwing up a smoke screen over the truth.

Now another point. I agree with Jerzy Grzybczak that the moral crisis is not only a Polish crisis. All of European culture is experiencing such a crisis. The economic, social, cultural, technological and political conditions of the end of the 20th century are seeing elements, the like of which have never before been seen. Traditional ethics and interpersonal ethics have no answers to these new problems. For example, consider ecological crimes against nature and the environment. Never before has that been a moral problem. We have seen emerge an entire series of global problems such as nuclear war that can threaten the entire planet and which cannot be solved in terms of moral responsibility for oneself and one's neighbor or for one's country and neighboring country. This is a problem that transcends all national borders.

Let us also consider the problem of the population explosion. There are now 5 billion people on Earth and by the year 2000, we will have 6 or 7 billion. Half of mankind eats poorly and one-fourth is starving. Is that not a moral problem? It is an enormous one! This faces us with other types of moral problems such as abortion, regulating fertility and voluntary sterilization. The old canons and moral standards have no answer for these enormous problems of civilization. Under the standards of traditional individual morality, some acts and behaviors in this regard are forbidden. However, considering global ethics and responsibility for the fate of humanity, such measures are appropriate, justified and allowable.

Let us also look at the atomic threat. There has never before been a situation in which decisions made by the small group of superpowers could lead to a final and universal catastrophe. This introduces the moral problem of whether one should obey governments making such decisions. It does seem to me that we cannot separate the moral state of the people from the social conditions in which they live and which may demoralize them or from the great world problems that demand the creation of an entirely new set of ethics. We can only get the right results when we teach thinking people to regard themselves as citizens of the world rather than as members of a given nation, class or state.

[A. Przeclawska] I would like to argue a few points with Professor Kozakiewicz. It is my personal conviction that one cannot separate personal ethics from global ethics. This is not a problem of two ethical systems. One of the causes of this crisis is this moral division of man which is a phenomenon in more places than Poland, I fear. Professor Kozakiewicz said that no one has yet devised anything better than the Ten Commandments as a moral guide. Regardless of philosophy, that really is a set of moral and ethical norms of a universal nature. I do not agree that they do not apply on a social scale. First of all, I would like to ask whether instead of using the slogan of "moral renewal", we would do better to return to certain moral traditions? In this as well, we should talk not as much about moral renewal as about the traditional system of moral norms. Of course I do agree with what he has said here. We cannot abstract the issue of morality from its social context or from the political context in which the moral system of contemporary humanity was formed. That leads to enormous simplifications and to reliance on certain negative or positive patterns. However, even the best church or lay injunctions nor personal behavior can in themselves influence society. Ms Frey asked whether society needs a moral renewal. I will take the risk to say that there is no such demand for a moral renewal but there is a public feeling of endangerment and as I see it, the moral crisis has deepened. It has deepened because of the economic and social conditions. We must deal with a political breakdown, political indifference, passiveness and withdrawal into private life and concerns. People are not demanding a way to help combat evil around them. That is a desire that we must arouse in them. We must also make people aware that the present bad state of affairs has much more profound causes. The crisis that we are experiencing is not only an economic or political crisis but a social and moral crisis. Even if the problems of our moral wealth were brought up only to distract public attention away from other areas, it is still good that we are aware of them. The most important thing is that our reactions

be more than temporary or episodic in nature. This cannot be solved in a public campaign. The process of moral rebirth and public upbringing (I prefer that term) is a long-term process and cannot be reduced to just a one-time effort. It demands not repression but prevention based among other things on creating the necessary conditions and organization of social life.

It is very often said that the public demands the laws be made stricter. I think that if even a few social groups are demanding this, that still does not mean that such actions will be effective.

Therefore, it is obviously a matter of education and prevention. What we broadly refer to as social pathology is not limited to violation or respect for legal norms. There exists an entire sphere of social pathology that is not addressed by the law. Certain spheres of activity cannot be dealt with using legal norms because they require the application of moral norms. Professor Kozakiewicz touched upon this problem in a controversial manner in his references to abortion and birth control. After all, these are two different matters altogether. Abortion is unacceptable in terms of Catholic morality. More and more is being said about the harmfulness of abortions and regardless of one's religious principles, it is also considered a bad procedure for general humanitarian and medical reasons. Above all, there do exist various methods of family planning that are accepted by the Catholic religion. Should these not be considered more?

In this regard, I would like to bring up an issue that I think holds the key to moral health and that is faithfulness to one's chosen system of values. This obviously requires that a person choose a hierarchy of values and that is the task of education and upbringing. It is also necessary that society be provided with the conditions needed to cultivate and realize such an attitude. If we cannot resolve this in rules for social life and establish legal norms, we will have to deal with superficiality, shaky moral convictions and a breakdown in the moral values of youth. We will then flounder in the crisis that we are trying to overcome.

[R. Chruszczow] Generally, I agree with the ideas that I have heard here. However, there are a few points that I disagree with. My feeling about these problems is a little different. On the basis of my own experiences, I think that at the present time, the problem of the moral crisis is being rightfully considered. I do not, however, think that the moral crisis has such a direct and simple connection to the economic or political crisis. The observed devaluation of many moral values cannot be blamed entirely on economic or political conditions. People often have little respect for work or the law and are also very conniving.

Out of the many causes of this problem, the main one is a lack of trust between people and little confidence in the government. After all, the rebuilding of the state's authority and faith in its promises is an enormously important issue. This is something we cannot disregard in discussing the moral crisis.

If, as Professor Kozakiewicz said, we consider the world moral crisis, we can gain a full image of its causes and dimensions.

The events of 1980-81 have had a particular influence on the dimensions of this crisis. These events revealed an enormous number of shortcomings that are still causing us problems even today. These shortcomings do not encourage the sort of moral attitudes that we wish to see. These needs cannot always be met but public expectations are very high. People are critical when they see the discrepancy between words and actions. That is a feature of our society but it does not mean that there is no public demand for moral renewal.

There are painful symptoms of pathology in our social life. How can we effectively act against them, alleviate their negative effects and overcome them? Legal means are necessary. Preventive action by the organs of state and especially those responsible for protecting the law has been improved and broadened. However, the results have not kept up with the needs. Should we not therefore consider repression?

I would say yes but only according to the situation, the given behavior and how socially harmful an activity might be. Repression is not and cannot be the only means of eliminating behavior that is unacceptable to the government and society. For example, the problem of parasitism or drunkenness is quite complicated and can be effectively eliminated through activity by many different social groups and organizations.

It is especially worth considering activity in the realm of culture. If literature, films and public writing confronts us with problems in such a way as to discourage us, the reaction will not be a positive one. I recently saw the film "Wet Money". I do not understand what this film is about and why it is being shown. Aside from showing complete ignorance of fundamental values and demoralized social groups, this film does not create anything nor does it communicate to its viewers any positive values or attitudes and the theater was full of young people. That is an example of how action for moral renewal is sceptically viewed.

[T. Wisniewski] The problems that you [R. Chruszczow] spoke about are still not a form of real social pathology. In Czestochowa, there was recently a meeting on the subject of active measures against social plagues, crime, corruption, alcoholism and drug addiction as a necessary means of restoring civil attitudes. The subject was taken directly from the program declaration of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

I live in Czestochowa, on the Promenade. I vividly remember the ceremony dedicating it to the people of the city on 22 July 1975. The Promenade was managed and well-lit from two sides. It was the pride of the city. And today? It has become an experimental plot for most of the vandalism, devastation and social illness in our city. There is literally nothing there that has not been destroyed, damaged, abused, and defiled, benches, receptacles, shrubs, flowers and trees alike. The Promenade is an oasis for truants, drunks and trouble-makers that have nothing constructive to do with their time. And all of this damage is done right before the eyes of the public but no one reacts or protests. Most often, people say that "this is not mine, this is not ours and it's none of my business". It is really frightening to walk along the Promenade late at night.



I only want to say that a good word, persuasion or a lesson accomplishes little in such cases. What is needed here is certain actions. For that reason, I was very glad to hear that our residential development of over 30,000 and which has existed since 1979 has finally organized an office of the Volunteer Reserve of the Citizen's Militia. Maybe this will lead to less vandalism, fewer broken windows, broken trees, trampled grass, rapes, thefts and break-ins, etc.

I am glad to see that action is being taken to fight evil. I think that it is never too late to begin. We have to begin somewhere and it is only a strong shared effort that will give concrete results against evil and social pathology. Of course, the mass media must also participate. Radio, the press and television are already helping but are they doing a good job? It is also necessary to gain the active participation of the church and schools and all of society in general. Everyone must help, regardless of their political views because the ultimate goal is the good of our fatherland and country.

[R. Churszczow] It is also necessary to make changes to how we bring up our children and how our schools function so that our children can be given certain values of prime importance to good civil attitudes. What I am referring to is zeal, honesty, respect for responsibilities, work and property, respect for other persons, the law and principles of social coexistence.

[T. Wisniowski] When I was a pupil, our teacher wanted to see whether we were hanging around on the streets in our free time. That is how closely we were watched but that was then. Now, once lessons are over, the teachers do not care what their pupils do with their time.

[A. Przeclawska] Father Wisniowski mentioned the press, radio and television. Two issues here must be emphasized. The first is stressing the very individual and personal nature of educational and social influences. The second is to avoid superficial actions. We must finally stop thinking that if we issue some decree, the matter will end with that. Superficial actions that dull our awareness and that "get rid" of a problem are worse than doing nothing at all.

[M. Lochowski] I think we are making the problem out to be worse than it is. What is it that is endangered here? Is it crime that threatens us? Indeed, there has been an increase in the crime rate over the last 7 years. In my own province of Bialystok, the crime rate has gone up nearly 100 percent. However, the crime rate in terms of the number of crimes per 100,000 inhabitants is lower in Poland, much lower than in other countries. Public safety is much better here than anywhere else.

Professor Kozakiewicz said that certain values have declined not only in Poland but all over the world. We do travel abroad and see these problems that, as Father Wisniowski said, exist everywhere. Why then is there so much alarm and so much talk about a campaign? We have just raised the ante a little because at one time, during the time of the success propaganda, it was hard to write about various human deviations and pathologies. Now the press has a practically unlimited freedom to describe these problems.

With regard to pointing out these evils, there does not seem to be any problem. We of the prosecutor's office have no taboos for journalists. At the same time, I am aware that the problem of the public's moral health is as complicated as man and the human psyche. As a prosecutor, I have seen the human misfortune caused by alcoholism for 30 years. The victims were not only the drinkers but their families as well. Alcoholism is the cause of many deviations and crimes.

However, one must ask why people drink. Why is it that all of the steps we have taken to combat alcoholism, all of the treatments, preventive measures and forms of legal repression failed? We continue to be unable to combat alcoholism. This is because there are certain cultural traditions and ideas about entertainment and recreation, etc. They have become encoded into our way of thinking and customs. That seems to have its source in in our customary values, habits and how we organize our free time and meetings with friends.

[A. Przeclawska] In October of last year, I attended a national conference of physicians and was a member of the academic committee of that conference. The congress was dedicated to alcoholism and drug addiction. I said before that we must avoid superficial actions. What the physicians said there about possibilities for treatment of alcoholism was not too encouraging. These physicians were the ones that have the first contact with the patient, the basic treatment doctors. The image they presented us was a very sad one. Actually, the entire series of activities was superficial. People kept asking why alcoholics drink. It is not only a problem of treatment but one of patient cooperation with the doctor. The patient must want to quit drinking and have a reason to stop. For a long time, we in Poland have not talked about problems like drug addiction. We did not want to see them because we felt that as long as we were unaware of them, they do not exist. The only problem is that the problems do not cease to exist just because we do not see them.

[J. Kucharski] The cultivation of the human personality and attitudes is a long-term process. It takes even longer to teach people a system of traditional values, to get along with each other, to be thrifty and to respect work. For that reason, to talk about the causes of moral devaluation in our country, we must take a look at the recent past.

When we began to rebuild our country after World War II and our greatest accomplishment was every man's right to work, we wanted to enjoy this accomplishment under what I think was the erroneous assumption that everyone must work. In this fervor, we forgot about the educational function of the family whose role cannot be replaced by anything else. Fathers were working, mothers were working and everyone was racing to attain the good life. Slowly but inevitably, responsibility for raising children was shifted to other social institutions such as preschools.

We have now reached a situation in which parents often limit their responsibility to providing their children with material goods and feel that by doing so, they are good parents. This is happening because the present generation of parents is the one that was also raised in nurseries and preschools and the notion of the warm family and family life is unknown to them although that is not their own fault. And now for the question of why people drink.

It was said here that there are certain cultural traditions and models of how one is to entertain oneself and have fun. It was also said that we remain helpless in the fight against alcoholism. In my opinion, our fight against alcoholism lacks effective concepts and we have too little endurance and consistency in our actions.

And now, let me return to the causes of our alcoholic pattern of entertainment, fun and free time. It seems to me that we do not have the resources or attractive alternatives to drinking during our free time. There is a shortage of cultural facilities, clubs and sports facilities for the public and this means that some people escape using alcohol as the most convenient way to spend free time.

Increasing drinking on various occasions and public tolerance and sometimes even approval of drunkenness has brought alcohol into all areas of our lives. People drink during various family and social occasions. People drink while driving, while at work and anytime they feel like it. Their superiors see this but do not react, often feigning that they have not noticed.

[R. Chruszczow] But is that moral?

[J. Kucharski] Of course it isn't! But that is how it is. Work is poorly organized. People are bored because they do not have anything to do. And the tradition of alcoholic organization of free time has reduced work productivity, affected earnings and lessened respect for work. I often hear it said that it does not pay to work for the state. Work is poorly organized, productivity is low and wages are low in relation to productivity. Now we are seeing a practically pathological phenomenon of graduates of higher schools seeking work in craft shops or as guards for vegetable gardens.

A graduate of an economics academy was asked why he had taken a job delivering vegetables and fruit to a kiosk. He simply answered: "I have a wife and children and want to give them a decent life. If I could earn half as much in a factory as I now get, I would work there". Can we still persist in saying that there is no problem? I think not. The problem becomes most urgent for those actually affected and those who have for years worked in a state-owned factory are justifiably dissatisfied that they cannot earn all that they need by working honestly all their lives while some crook makes a fortune in a few years.

[D. Frey] But is that dissatisfaction not sometimes aimed in the wrong direction? Is it really who you called the "crooks" that are responsible for the disproportion in earnings or someone else? The material depreciation of many professions and especially the intellectual professions has become a fact of life. Although I do not agree with you as to the causes, I do agree on the results and the bad effect they have had on morals.

[J. Kucharski] Let me add one thing. I have the impression that in the complicated process of production, we forget about the basic subject of this process and that is people. We have an excellent system of punishments and rewards but it seems that we use the punishments more and the rewards less.



[R. Chruszczow] But you have already said that the punishments no longer work and that when people drink at work, their supervisors pretend to not see.

[J. Kucharski] The punishments do not work because no one takes them seriously. The penalized person often becomes a hero that everyone sympathizes with. The lowest common denominator has now become the mode. One more and more sees an attitude of "what can we do to do nothing?". Can any system work in such a climate?

Let me once again return to the notion that we have made fundamental errors in our educational process. I think that many negative phenomena in our social life have been caused by negative examples in our childrens' upbringing. Raising our children under conditions in which violence, force, fighting and lack of respect for the law are the most well-known images of life must give them just such attitudes.

It is time to unify the goals and educational tasks of schools, the family, organizations, places of work, etc. Up to now, this has not been done. Our society varies under different circumstances. We manage to have a different face in different situations. We are one way at home, another way at work, at school and in church. How often have we under different circumstances covered up our membership in the party, trade unions, PRON, etc.? This is how we are raising our children. They watch us and will be just like us.

[D. Frey] We have been talking about the economic, political and social crisis. The phenomena found today in various areas of our lives are reflected by and are a component of this crisis. If the causes are so complicated, what sort of remedy is possible? I hear it said that the laws should be made harsher, that the law on refusing to work should be changed, that the penal code has to be updated and that various new and stricter regulations must be introduced. However, I would like to ask whether that is the only solution? If it is not, what else can be proposed?

[W. Patulski] I do not agree with those and especially with journalists who say that the social crisis will improve family life because, as they claim, society will no longer be pursuing money, foreign travel and wealth in the form of summer houses and cars but concentrate more on the family. That does not seem to be the case. The truth lies somewhere in the middle. I also do not agree with the idea that Poland is undergoing a "divorce explosion" or an "explosion of crime and youth demoralization" and in this connection, I would like to say something about the role of the press. That is a very delicate role, especially in the sense that it can "produce" the sort of people who break the law. If, for example, the television shows how one can make "compote" from poppies or youth escapes, then more of this actually takes place because the television has provided a sort of anti-pattern.

[I. Lewandowska] So television is not supposed to say anything and pretend the problems do not exist? We already talked about that.

[W. Patulski] All of that is true but I would like to ask what we must do to provide positive rather than negative patterns and attitudes. Let us not forget that the negative patterns often seem more attractive outwardly.

[J. Krzekotowski] Editor Frey has just asked us what sort of remedy is possible. However, one should ask what it is that we are trying to remedy. What we are seeing now is not a campaign to find remedies to the problems of moral order but one limited to the phenomena of social pathology and that alone. That is largely a problem of law and it is the law that the public expects to solve the problem. At the same time, Professor Kozakiewicz described the essence of the problem when he said that the problem of morality is not a problem of the relationship between values and behavior but one in which people declare one set of values while living by another.

People here have been using concepts like nation, society and socialism and quite rightfully so. The only thing I wish to add to that is that if we want to find a remedy, then we must first translate these slogans into the language of practice and be able to tell ourselves that we are defending the values encoded into these slogans. That is where the remedy begins. We must therefore make ourselves understood as to what we mean.

For myself, I find maddening the double morality that Professor Kozakiewicz described, the individual and group ethics. If we were to accept such a system, then we would already have the first sources of man's inner division. If we do not make it clear what values we as a society wish to defend, then it will be impossible to work together. For example, the church and state would find it impossible to cooperate despite the fact that they often issue similar declarations. We must decide just what values are reflected by these words.

[L. Lewandowska] How are we to make ourselves understood?

[J. Krzekotowski] That is exactly why PRON came into being. PRON exists to interpret or name the values that various social groups must come together to defend and cultivate.

[I. Lewandowska] I have still another question. What resources does PRON have to carry out the tasks you described?

[J. Krzekotowski] PRON has the potential of people who can propose how these terms are to be interpreted. Can that interpretation be accepted everywhere at once? No. After all, we have said here today that if we indicate certain educational processes, that is not in itself an action that can solve the problem in a short amount of time. I wish to emphasize that ethical principles should be followed in the life of the individual and the group. We are not fully aware of how much moral and education significance there is in political and even economic decisions. If the substance of morality is accordance between word and deed, then it is socially catastrophic when government deeds do not accord with political declarations. If we are now looking for the sources of the moral crisis, one of the important sources of this crisis is the discrepancy between group declarations and reality.

[D. Frey] An a lack of social discipline?

[J. Krzeketowski] The lack of social discipline can also have its sources in the discrepancy between the declared functional discipline of state mechanisms and reality and between the declared and realized hierarchy of values and activity.

We have been talking about the mass media and we have spoken very poorly of television. However, despite the fact that television is supposed to be nothing but nudity and violence, the first thing people do when they see each other in the morning is talk about what they saw on television the night before. And for me, that is a symbol of these double standards. If something offends me, I can always turn it off but most of us eagerly watch it and enjoy it.

It has already been said that cunning is, in the public opinion, rewarded. That is because people really value things in practice. This has reached the point that things have become a real value and motive for very many people. The rest of the problem is only the various ways people go about getting things. This is a classic problem which was very well formulated by Pope John Paul II when he said that a person must choose whether he wants to have more or be more.

[D. Frey] Do you not think that the cause of many of the phenomena that we have been discussing is the fact that the government and state always appeal to the public as a group and only rarely as individuals, as unique beings and as single citizens that come together to form a state? The hierarchy has been reversed. Because they speak to the group, the individual with his own needs and abilities disappears.

[J. Krzeketowski] I would like to add that we have often faced situations in which the state was guided by the mythical global ethics which have not always been in step with the ethical norms of most citizens.

I am also afraid of any situation in which people lose any awareness of the fact that they are violating values. As long as people know that values exist, there is some chance that they will learn to respect them again. However, if people stop asking about the meaning of their lives and the hierarchy of values? We talked about alcoholism. I may be simplifying the matter but I believe that alcohol is a form of escape from reality and from having to answer these fundamental questions.

[R. Churszczow] I don't agree with that! That is giving alcoholism some sort of undefinable causes!

[J. Gryzbczak] After the war, most of the drunkenness was found on the state agricultural farms but during the 1960's, those people began to earn more money. These earnings were not the meager ones that suffice for nothing more than rubber shoes and denim clothing. This was enough money to buy things like furniture. It was then that drunkenness began to disappear from the state farms. Therefore, one may ask whether there are enough worthwhile products for people to buy with the money they earn or just vodka. Can people save money for something or must they say "I know that I will not get what I want for a very long time so I am going to escape from reality".

[M. Lochowski] There is still the phenomenon of public passiveness, indifference and insensitivity. For example, we have regulations that stipulate the presence of a public representative in court proceedings. This is supposed to be a representative that would not only defend the rights of the plaintiff or defendant but also the public interest. The regulation is such that it does not have any effect at all in practice. Even organizations such as the Polish Woman's League or the trade unions that have this provision written into their charters do not send their representatives to court. This is indifference but someone must set these mechanisms into action.

[S. Kolodziej] Someone brought up the question of the role of law in moral renewal. The law is very important and does have a definite influence but it cannot replace other systems. Law is supposed to express certain social values but even the values best expressed by law cannot deal with all problems. They cannot replace good upbringing and the cultivation of social attitudes and civil attitudes. Law is only a factor that supports good upbringing and discipline.

Some see legal regulations as a remedy for social pathology and a means of cultivating good human attitudes. Law does of course make its own good contributions and expresses certain values if it is cohesive, is properly applied and people know it. Finally, the law must also be in full step with moral standards. Again, as a lawyer, I ask myself whether everyone knows the laws against alcoholism perfectly well. Why for example do people continue to drink at work? What makes them do it? Their attitudes. Some people are angered by that but most people are not really critical at all of drinking on the job and the effect that has on work.

[I. Lewandowska] People do not obey regulations against drinking on the job because they think they will not be held accountable for their infractions.

[S. Kolodziej] Can we say that the only reason is that those who do drink at work do not think that they will be disciplined? I do not think so. If I had to say what I thought the actual reasons for such behavior were, I would have to agree with Editor Grzybaczak and say that economic reasons are the strongest cause.

If we are talking about social pathologies that take place within families and demoralize children and youth, we cannot blame them on imperfections in our laws and their execution. These pathologies are chiefly the fault of the parents or guardians or the environment. It would also be wrong to say that this happens because people are unaware of the legal consequences. Are people also aware of the social consequences of their behavior? We must expect that any form of behavior that violates the principles of social life and disrupts correct interpersonal relations should be viewed critically by the public. Such behavior is, as a rule, a violation of universal moral norms. Unfortunately, we sometimes encounter such attitudes very sporadically in certain situations.

These causes for such attitudes are considerably more profound. For that reason, we really must begin with properly raising our children. If the law is to make a contribution to this process, we must educate young people as to what the law means. They must know what the law stipulates and what are the sanctions for certain violations.

[D. Frey] I am of the impression that although our discussion has covered many facets of the problem, it has still failed to address the public's expectations or at least those of the people that have initiated the moral renewal campaign. It seems to me that most people expect the formulation of a concrete program on public behavior and discipline. To simplify matters, one can say that people expect new and stricter regulations on speculation, parasitism and alcoholism. If control is intensified and various police actions are taken that reduce crime, the magnitude of various social pathologies should decrease. In the public's understanding, the moral renewal campaign amounts to fighting the symptoms of pathology but we have mainly been discussing the way in which people are brought up.

[J. Kucharski] Our discussion has shown that the best chance for slowing the rise in social pathology is to be found in education and upbringing and I would add that this is a matter of not only how we raise and educate our children but all of society. If we say that upbringing is the process in which adults raise young people, then in order that that upbringing to be sound and healthy, the adults must also be of sound moral health. PRON must finally begin work to break our nation's greatest weakness which is a lack of stamina and consistency in action. We must create a united front in this regard.

[J. Krzeketowski] Such a united front is a dangerous and socially harmful illusion. What we can realistically consider is an understanding that can and must be reached between the varied and contradictory views of parents and some youth. That is why I keep referring to values. We can specify a certain canon of values that we will hold together, common values shared by all regardless of their philosophy and political or social views. If we champion extremist slogans, and for me, a united educational front is a form of extremism, then we will have the same thing we started with, a set of hidden lies. We must work out some type of pact in which schools will not interfere in what children are taught at home and families will not undermine what the schools teach.

[T. Wisniowski] I support that idea completely. If a campaign is to be a long-term one, we must start with the youngest children and work with them in the schools, churches and religious instruction schools.

[J. Grzybczak] I must agree with Mr Krzeketowski as to the slogan of an agreement on upbringing. However, this is not a matter that can be settled with slogans but by concrete action. The program must be one shared by the party, church, PRON and social organizations. We must all work together to realize this program. We must also see that the results of such a program will be all the greater, the sooner we succeed in eliminating the sources of the economic crisis.

[I. Lewandowska] I would not place such great hope on ending the economic crisis as a means of improving the state of morality in Poland. After all, societies that are much richer than ours also have a crime problem. Of course, some of the worst forms of crime will certainly diminish and we can indeed deal with speculation and several other forms of crime but we cannot really hope to see a genuine drop in crime. The experiences of other countries incline one to be very sceptical.

[S. Kolodziej] We must gain the support of the greatest possible number of people to fight the problems we have been discussing. How are we to do that? We must not exhort the public because that is always misunderstood. People say: "They are exhorting us and that is all they will do". The most convincing approach is to show the causes, dimensions and consequences of certain forms of behavior.

[T. Wisniowski] Evil is the opposite of good. It would be wrong to think that we can all be angels. We are fighting so that most of society can be good and dominate the bad minority.

[D. Frey] We have discussed many aspects. The discussed was rich and people's opinions were so varied that there is no way they can be summarized appropriately. We certainly cannot offer any prescriptions or ready programs but the discussion still served its purpose by presenting the very extensive aspects that go into the issue of moral renewal and rebirth. It also demonstrated the many ways we can work to achieve that. We can also expect our discussion to be a valuable inspiration to other discussions taking place before the 10th PZPR Congress. We thank all of you here for your participation.

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CSO: 2600/622

POLITICS

POLAND

OPINION CENTER DIRECTOR ON CATHOLIC PRESS CRITICISM

Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 26, 29 Jun 86 p 3

[Letter to Editor by Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, director of the CBOS (Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej--Public Opinion Research Center)]

[Text] In connection with, and in reply to, the articles titled "A few questions addressed to the Colonel" (PK No 7/86) and "More on public opinion polls" (PK No 23/86), will you please publish the text enclosed, unchanged and unabridged.

Kwiatkowski

Twice already, space has been found in PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI for a government agency whose activities constitute something new in Poland's political life, to wit the CBOS. For the first time, we have been unambiguously criticized, and this is of importance. Following criticisms, one would wish our activities corrected and improved. Unfortunately, neither article brings anything instructive. Both are full of reproaches, insinuations and indeed charges to the effect that we are swerving from truth and are knowingly bungling the research conducted. We are expected to supply proofs of the scientific nature, honesty and truth of our agency's activities. To be brief--please prove you are not a thief.

I do not think anyone at the CBOS would care to answer such impertinences. The first article was titled "A few questions addressed to the Colonel". I am always happy to answer any questions but what are they? Where are they to be found? Its title notwithstanding, the text solely contains rhetoric questions, answered by the author himself.

Never mind the author. There is nothing to be done about the afflicted. If the editors really harbor some doubts regarding the workshop aspect of our research, they are invited to No 4 Zurawia Street. We could then have plenty of time and space without boring the readers with technical matters. I am glad to vouch for full insight to be given into our research work. The poll findings have always been of a controversial nature. Reproaches are nothing strange to specialists, and they are addressed to all research agencies, including those of world renown. The imperfection of methods is easily exploited for public use. I am accustomed to the fact that not everyone is



satisfied with the CBOS findings. What some people are criticizing, others are willing to praise, stating they "agree" with our figures. But figures just reflect plain facts. When they are not to someone's liking, he may of course apply his own interpretation or otherwise question the fairness of the relevant data. By the author of the two articles, we have been supplied with a sample of such approach. It can be seen he would be ready to stick to anything just to have something. Well, let him.

The CBOS achievements as well as research technique and methods have been publicly evaluated at the two-day (16--17 May 1986) session of Warsaw PTS (Polskie Towarzystwo Socjologiczne--Polish Sociology Society) branch association, attended by sociologists from all over the country. It seems to me such session has been both valuable and useful to all participants. May more sessions take place. This would make our task easier. I would add that just like myself, the author of the two articles had attended the session. Therefore, he was in a position to make use of his presence.

Both myself and all CBOS workers wish to do a good job of work not only because this is our duty. If anyone wishes to suggest anything to help through criticizing us, we are glad to listen and take it into consideration. However, I fail to find such intentions in either of the two articles. If you expect an answer, it is to be found in your own articles on the ethics of word (PK No 20/86). Some time ago you wrote that according to the Gospel, Jesus Christ said: "Whoever calls his brother 'dunce' will be judged by the High Council," and very firmly asked us to be discreet when appraising others, in particular when speaking in public. I will add: Amen.

Stanislaw Kwiatkowski

As a matter of fact, both the purport and the tone of the above text do not call for comments, and could well be left unanswered. I would however like to point two items out:

First, the actual data and facts as stated by myself may be described as "insinuations" and "impertinences"; this however will not change anything but perhaps it will strengthen the director's self-assurance. Were I Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, I would not refer to the PTS session at which the CBOS activities were the subject of "public evaluation". Such evaluation has been most unflattering, and expressed in a sharper and more critical form than that of my articles.

Second, my last article did not concern the CBOS but public opinion polls now conducted in Poland [Law of 31 July 1981 on the control over publications and spectacles, article 2 paragraph 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99) as changed by DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204].

P.S. I am taking the opportunity to publish a corrigendum: As I have been advised following the publication of my article, I had been supplied with erroneous information regarding the differences in the proportion of labor union members in similar polls conducted by the PRiTV (Polskie Radio in



Telewizja) public opinion research center. Such differences amounted to less than 8 to 19 percentage points. I wish to apologize for inaccurate information, certainly not supplied on purpose.

Ludwik Dorn

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POLITICS

POLAND

READER REFUTES 'MORAL CRISIS', POLITICAL SYSTEM CORRELATION

Warsaw OODROZENIE in Polish No 29, 19 Jul 86 p 12

[Text] Out of the 12 participants in OODROZENIE meeting discussing "Moral Crisis--or Morality in a Period of Crisis" (OODROZENIE 22), Father Teodor Wisniowski addressed them in what, to my mind, was the most logical and convincing manner. He just told us what he used to see at his Czestochowa City Promenade years ago, and what he was seeing there at present. And what Father Wisniowski is now seeing in Czestochowa, every one of us can, unfortunately, see in Warsaw or Krakow as well. Wherever you go, there are cases of school children playing truant, drunks, loafers wishing to kill time. Whatever all the Polish people have spontaneously built within the framework of civic deeds--today some Polish people are just as spontaneously destroying. And the remaining passive, fearful, alienated (?) Poles are silent, awaiting--what?

To Father Wisniowski's mind, there is just one solution: Not much will be done by means of persuasion, school and kind words. Serious action is what is needed. According to him, such action can, e.g., be seen in shifting ORMO (Ochotnicza Rezerwa Milicji Obywatelskiej--Citizens' Militia Volunteer Reserve) units to particular city sections. This would put an end to the spreading hooliganism.

Discussions were opened by Professor Dr Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, representing a completely different, I should say contrary, viewpoint. I am sorry to state that the address of this outstanding activist had given the discussion the drift he desired. Said he: The morality of a private citizen and of the Polish people as a whole is in accordance with Poland's economic and political conditions. And there is no use bemoaning or even discussing the problem whether today's morality is good or bad. The renewal of the authorities must come first.

The truth to tell, I am quite unable to see any connection between Czestochowa Province Party Committee, and the fact that on that city's Promenade Father Wisniowski fails to see "anything undamaged, unsullied, not destroyed or wasted". The professor does not see any connection between thoughtless vandalism on Czestochowa Promenade or Planty Avenue in Krakow, and the fact that a very few years ago, our schoolchildren were made to take to the streets to demonstrate "against". Today, we are asked by life to foot the bill for having in an unmannerly way manipulated the children's awareness.

Throughout Professor Kozakiewicz's speech, one finds the idea that Poland's current political system is the only cause of the moral decline of our nation. As a scientist and pedagogue, and an outstanding political activist, the professor knows how to suggest to readers that our system is showering prizes on docile and obedient people while punishing those both committed and courageous. To the professor's mind, the image of the Polish system had ceased developing, in part, in the 1950's and 1970's. However, the main feature of such an image had been shaped and strengthened by Polish hands even though, perhaps, influenced by motives alien to Polish hearts and minds.

I know this is a brutal way of presenting things. Most unfortunately, I see Professor Kozakiewicz's speech as a mighty smokescreen. A man's morality may not be seen in direct connection with, and depend on, the political system or the economy of a given country.

Readers and popularity are being won by ODRODZENIE through the organization and publication of interesting, controversial discussions. The discussions on morality will no doubt have aroused vivid echoes. It is just to be regretted that the remaining participants have given way to the professor's spell, and were not trying to find an answer to the question whether morality in Poland was worse today than, let us say, 10 years ago. The discussion on morality has failed to extend to the most painful and touchy problem--the indifference of well-fed people towards the fate of those who are poor. While various churches and social organizations are spending millions on representation and festivities, they have words only for the hungry.

Edward Krawiec,  
Krakow

5174/12379  
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POLITICS

POLAND

CHURCH, STATE EFFORTS AGAINST ALCOHOLISM EVOKE CONTROVERSY

Columnist Responds to Criticism of Priest

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 28, 12 Jul 86 p 6

[Article by Jerzy Jarzeniec: "Were All the Readers To...." subtitled "We'll Say: Alcoholism"]

[Text] The statistics on sales of alcohol in the stores and restaurants of our country in per capita terms, regardless of age, sex, education, and personal views, are eloquent.

Table 1

	(1) rok 1984	rok 1985	rok 1986
styczeń (2)	11.372	11.055	12.641
luty (3)	10.782	10.962	11.630
marzec (4)	11.680	12.390	14.254
kwiecień (5)	12.050	11.784	11.645
maj (6)	11.852	12.794	12.870
czerwiec (7)	10.993	11.370	
lipiec (8)	11.394	12.079	
sierpień (9)	11.813	12.481	
wrzesień (10)	11.243	11.694	
październik (11)	12.860	13.505	
listopad (12)	12.096	12.232	
grudzień (13)	14.231	16.108	

KEY: 1. Year; 2. January; 3. February; 4. March; 5. April; 6. May; 7. June; 8. July; 9. August; 10. September; 11. October; 12. November; 13. December

Even so, the picture is not complete in the absence of figures on homebrewed alcohol in the form of legally made wine and illegally distilled moonshine.

It is estimated that homebrewed production of these spirits accounts for about 30 percent of the overall consumption of alcoholic beverages.

The moral and material devastation wrought by alcoholism and the further grave perils it harbors prompt, energize, and spur to cooperate all those to whom the nation's destiny is not indifferent. Hence also, already at the second session of the reactivated Joint Commission of Representatives of the PRL Government and the Polish Episcopate in November 1980, it was decided to appoint the Taskforce for Alcoholism Control and Temperance Education. The activities of this taskforce reflect a far-reaching unity of purpose between both parties, as demonstrated in, among other things, the recommendations for the draft anti-alcoholism Sejm decree. As passed on 26 October 1982, the Decree on Temperance Education and Alcoholism Control states in its Article 1, Paragraph 3, that agencies of the authorities and the state administration "shall also cooperate with the Catholic Church and other churches and religious associations in combatting alcoholism and inculcating sobriety." In April of this year at the Belvedere was held a meeting of personages, including those from the Catholic world, who normally shrink from political publicity but are ready to consider jointly recommendations for measures to promote civic attitudes, strengthen moral values, and counter social pathology. As announced on 24 April 1986, the communique on the 10th meeting between General Wojciech Jaruzelski and Primate Jozef Cardinal Glemp stressed "the broad opportunities for cooperation between the state and the church in combatting social pathology."

Against the background of these and many other joint anti-alcoholism declarations, initiatives, and measures, a dissonant chord was struck by the remarks offered from the pulpit some time ago by a church dignitary. (We adhere to the convention, employed in the ecclesiastical press, of not naming names in order to avoid the "antagonization of attitudes, since there is no need for it" -- see GOSC NIEDZIELNY, No 22, p 3.) The dismaying note of dissonance was struck not by criticism of the limited effectiveness of the anti-alcoholism decree, nor by mordant comments on the administration. After all, as known, a decree aimed at such a deeply rooted national custom is not swallowed as easily as a [Eucharist] wafer and the authorities, no matter how hard they try, are not infallible. No, the dissonance is due to using the anti-alcoholism drive as an illustration of the thesis that church-state dialogue is being impeded by "distortions of truth." Troubling in this connection is both the parochial view of a universal social plague and the credence shown in suggestions advanced by anti-state political extremists.

As for that other question, in the sermon it was declared that, in view of the "vast revenues" from the state's alcohol monopoly, the authorities "are not interested in drying up such a source" and therefore conduct a "sham sobriety drive."

As regards the extent of revenues from the alcohol monopoly, that can be readily ascertained by perusing any statistical yearbook. For example, "Maly Rocznik Statystyczny 1986" [1986 Little Statistical Yearbook] (pp 72 and 84) states that last year these revenues accounted for exactly 9.97 percent of all government revenues. So much about revenues, and now about the "sham" aspect.

From the table presented at the outset of the article it ensues beyond any doubt that alcohol consumption per statistical capita in stores and restaurants in 1985 was, for all brands, lower than in 1980 [as published]. Is it sham that the number of alcohol sales outlet declined by an additional 6 percent toward the end of 1985, so that at present alcohol upward of 4.5 proof is being sold at 26,970 outlets or 81 percent of originally assumed allowable number of sales outlets? In 1984 35,000 drunken employees were led out of workplaces and actually penalized, with 104 receiving court sentences. In the following year, 1985, the corresponding figures were 38,000 and 368. The administrative and judicial countermeasures were accompanied by intensified preventive, control, mentor, propaganda, and educational measures, beginning with the mass drive "Youth--Temperance" conducted at 4,000 schools with the participation of 2 million pupils and ending with a plenary session of the Sejm devoted to this topic.

The aforementioned sermon also reflected in several places the church's parochial attitude on an issue which is not parochial. It stated, for example, that the existence of alcohol sales outlets in the neighborhood of Roman Catholic places of worship is a proof of "the hostility and adamant resistance" of the authorities. Yet, little stores and taverns standing across from churches have been for centuries a traditional feature of Polish architecture. Besides, the anti-alcoholism decree protects against this mutual proximity not only places of worship but also 20 other worthy kinds of public edifices, and Ordinance of 5 June 1983 of the Minister of Interior Commerce and Services specifies the permissible distance between alcohol sales outlets and such edifices at not less than 100 meters. What is the actual situation? According to studies conducted by the MHWiU [Ministry of Interior Commerce and Services] Department of Cooperation With Consumers, in 40 voivodships 703 alcohol sales outlets operated closer than 100 meters to places of worship and 2,119 closer than 100 meters to day schools, boarding schools, worker hostels, etc. This is not an edifying situation, but it does not demonstrate any special hostility toward the church.

Yet the aforementioned sermon considers discriminatory any failure of the authorities to obey the wishes of the church and implies the existence of some "tacit instruction" to sabotage the church's anti-alcoholism proposals. In reality, the truth is that the departments of trade under voivodship offices received in 1985 45 complaints from religious institutions about irregularities in the sales of alcoholic beverages. These complaints led to the withdrawal of 26 licenses for such sales as well as to the curtailment of the hours and range of such sales in certain other cases. The MHWiU has so far received only one proposal from the ecclesiastical side. Last August the curate of the Parish of Holy Trinity in Przemyśl requested that the permit for sales of alcoholic beverages by a store at 20 Krasinski Street be revoked. That request was granted. As for Warsaw, even earlier, on the initiative of the late Primate Cardinal Wyszyński, a number of dives in Old Town had been

shut down, and that initiative remains honored to this day. Despite protests by habitues, the U Hopfera Wineshop was evicted from its historic site and relocated at a decent distance from the Warsaw Theological Seminary. On the other hand, the Curia's request for revoking the alcohol license of Szafa Gra Restaurant on Milosna Street was not honored. The church is not always right in its anti-alcoholism proposals. In addition to goodwill, considerable familiarity with particular situations is needed so that misconceived decisions would not foster the spread of speakeasies and homebrewing.

The preacher in question was also wrong in proclaiming the success of August as the Month of Abstinence, declared by the Catholic Church. Unfortunately, data from the MIHWiU Department of Food and Nutrition are in this respect unequivocally pessimistic. See the table below.

Table 2. Retail-Store and Restaurant Sales of Alcoholic Beverages as Based On Monthly reports in '000 Liters of 100 Perc. Alcohol

Roczne spożycie na 1 mieszkańca (1) w litrach:	1960	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
wódki czyste i gatunkowe w przeliczeniu na 100 <sup>o</sup> (2) czyli 95 proc.	2,4	3,3	4,6	6,0	4,3	4,2	4,1	4,2	4,6
wina i miody pitne (3)	4,5	5,7	7,5	10,0	7,5	6,3	7,8	8,3	7,9
piwo (4)	22,8	31,6	36,8	30,4	28,6	28,6	27,5	26,6	29,5

KEY: 1. Annual Per Capita Consumption, in liters; 2. Regular and quality vodkas in 100 proof or 95 percent terms; 3. Wines and meads; 4. Beer

We cited these statistics not just in order to conclusively assess the results of the August temperance drive but also in order that the MHWiU figures presented above may encourage much broader, more serious, and deeper reflections. Were the purpose of this article to be the proverbial tit for tat, it would have sufficed to declare that in Poland the months of maximum drunkenness follow the rhythm of the Roman Catholic liturgical year, namely, Christmas, Easter, the period of first communions, popular saints' name days, etc. But the matter is too serious, too dramatic, to make of it a subject of parochial accusations, or a weapon for dueling about world outlook or even for waging political struggle, to which end it is being brandished strenuously by the extremists of the political opposition.

The drama consists in that the consumption of alcohol purchased in stores and restaurants has again been rising since 1983, and for 1985 the figures on alcohol sales in Poland amounted to 689 billion zlotys and US\$84 million, which is believed to account for about one-half of all the money spent on food.

In such a situation, instead of disputing about Augusts of the past [referring to the Solidarity period], the coming August should rather be borne in mind. It is to be desired that this year's drive for making August a temperance month may succeed. And perhaps it would be worthwhile to go beyond wishes and act? Instead of ignoring the church's appeals for temperance or, what is worse, drinking out of spite, let us try not to drink at all this year. A beginning has already been made. The editorial staffs of the weeklies VETO and KOBIECY I ZYCIE launched in mid-June the slogan, "Vacations 1986 -- Without Vodka." Were this slogan to be supported by a corresponding number of the readers of POLITYKA, this would result in much more effective support of temperance than had been secured in previous years by the group of professional oppositionists of the political extreme who made such hoopla about picketing retail stores. After all, the point is not noisy demonstrations but deeply personal and consistently followed resolutions. And any kind of alcohol, regardless of its source, should be boycotted, whether it is homebrewed hooch, or alcohol of hard-currency origin, or state-monopoly alcohol. After all, too, August, which is to so many a period of arduous work, and to others a month of carefree leisure, and to others still, above all, a period of pilgrimage, could become a month of temperance to all.

Counter-Response Appears in Catholic Weekly

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 31, 3 Aug 86 p 8

[Article by Piotr Wierzbicki: "So Then, I Propose Another Way...."]

[Text] Worthy old age has manifested an admirable creative elan. A 97 year-old professor who, according to received wisdom, should have already for the last quarter-century been tranquilly consuming the capital of the accomplishments made in the prime of his life while basking in fame and honors, has climbed in the sunset of his life new peaks of intellectual achievement and turned from a scientist into a civic activist who provides the young with an example of praiseworthy civic spirit.

And how does youth manifest itself? Where I am now, in a quiet mountainous backwoods locality, my attention was attracted by the new, recently evolved type of male in his thirties. His is a figure wearing a uniform of the workingman's shirt type, soiled, unbuttoned, revealing the bare chest or the belly button. The figure is of middle height, very slender, with a face showing lack of sleep, exhaustion, and extremely poor nutrition. On that face strays a sad little smile signifying a blend of the feeling of guilt with some morbid and fatal weakness. The figure advances with a tottering step, now and then shouting something abruptly and unintelligibly to other similar figures. The figure is to be met in the market square, generally near the lavatory door in a gastronomic establishment whose both rooms are -- to the despair of our hero -- permanently reserved for vacationers.

It was with this image before my eyes that I had read in POLITYKA of 12 July the article by Jerzy Jarzeniec, "Were All the Readers To...." That article engages in polemics with the critical views of an unidentified individual on the attitude of the authorities toward the church's anti-alcoholism



initiatives. Hang the polemics -- so far as vodka is concerned I am interested not in polemics but in constructive proposals. But in Jarzeniec's article it was precisely a constructive proposal that dismayed and depressed me. It turns out that Jarzeniec does not know how to end his great polemics with any better idea than that of appealing to the readers of POLITYKA to avoid alcohol while on vacation. Jarzeniec's initiative leaves me cold. Let me explain why.

Let me begin with an organizational-technical comment. Alcohol is a source of enjoyment to people who drink. When we appeal to someone to stop drinking, we expect him to deprive himself voluntarily of a certain pleasure. This raises the question of why should he voluntarily deprive himself of what he enjoys? The answer is as follows: In face of an appeal to deny himself a pleasure, a person may react positively if that appeal is motivated by some higher good and, equally important, if it is made by an individual or an institution enjoying that person's special respect. Jarzeniec absolutely does not meet this second requirement, having published in POLITYKA at most a couple of articles. He is simply very little known to the readers of that newspaper. Were the editors of POLITYKA to be serious about the appeal for vacation-time abstinence, it would have been signed by someone enjoying moral or intellectual authority among that newspaper's readers, or at least by one of its well-known columnists. I can imagine that some people in Poland might stop drinking in response to an appeal by a Rakowski or a Passent, but I cannot imagine any person of sound mind depriving himself this pleasure to satisfy the wish of a man whom nobody knows, Jarzeniec. No, I cannot believe it. Unfortunately.

Now as for my view on the serious, church-promoted movement for abstinence, I consider it to be a magnificent initiative that is important from the moral standpoint and does good to the individual, or even to the community, but one that cannot succeed on a national scale, because alcoholism is a social problem, and social problems cannot be resolved by even the most ardent appeals and best intentions.

Finally, the basic idea here is that the fight against alcoholism in Poland has reached a dead end, because nearly everyone concerned has adopted a more or less definitely statist view on this issue. We have become accustomed to regarding as normal a situation in which anything that concerns alcohol is to be directed precisely and responsibly by the state. It is the state that produces vodka, and it is the state that must watch out so that no one else produces vodka. It is the state that sells vodka and supplies it (in gastronomic establishments) to the table. But it is also the state that is supposed to combat vodka-drinking, to open some bars and close others, to issue an unending string of regulations on vodka drinking, and to initiate Sejm decrees and punish violators of these decrees.

(-----) (Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 6, DZIENNIK USTAW, Item 99, No 20, 1981, revised in DZIENNIK USTAW, Item 204, No 44, 1983) [I.e., censored passage] Young people in ragged garments who, from their posts near the lavatory door, direct hyena-like stares at state-owned restaurants crowded with vacationers, might possibly be elsewhere and look different were their town to contain, instead of the sole and state-owned restaurant, five private taverns in which money could be spent not only on vodka but also on tasty meals.

From Jarzeniec's article it ensues that, according to a Sejm decree and a minister's ordinance, the distance between taverns and liquor stores, on the one hand, and churches, schools, hostels, etc., on the other, is being investigated. The vision of an official tavern located by an official decision at an official distance from other buildings is, in my opinion, typically statist absurdity. In a city or town, liquor stores should be not in every optimal place specified by the state; they should be on every street, in every building. In these taverns and stores (and also workshops) the present-day statist (state-employed) imbibers should work (hard, under the watchful gaze of demanding bosses).

There exists a view according to which the state could promote a decline in drunkenness by tightening regulations and enforcing them better. In my opinion, this road leads nowhere. I am thus proposing another way: let the state stimulate the productive energy of individuals, let it provide a broader field for private initiative by encouraging the idea of the amassing of personal fortunes, private enterprise, and private investment. (-----)  
(Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 6, DZIENNIK USTAW, Item 99, No 20, 1981, revised in DZIENNIK USTAW, Item 204, No 44, 1983) [I.e., censored passage]

1386

CSO:2600/621

POLITICS

POLAND

READER COMPLAINS ABOUT MAIL CENSORSHIP

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 31, 2 Aug 86 p 3

[Text] Invited by my son, I spent 7 months staying with him in the State of Indiana, since September 1985. During that period, I was in "correspondence" with many relatives, children and friends in Poland. The word "correspondence" is an overstatement, for I have never had any answer to about 20 letters and cards mailed. Back in Poland, I have found my addressees cross with me as, except for four people, none of them had received anything. As for those four letters and a card, they arrived in nylon bags with the remark that they had come from the U.S.A. damaged. I would be glad to believe it had the other--undamaged--ones reached the addressees.

Up to now, no one else has received the remaining letters. I am quite upset to see this happen in our country. I am 76 years old, have lived through two wars, a revolution, various ups and downs, and it was only during the war that letters were sometimes lost in transit.

Furthermore, I see that the Easter parcel mailed by my son in the States early in March, and addressed to my family and kids has not reached us yet. And so I am quite worried about two parcels containing my clothes, etc., and which I have myself mailed to Poland. Also in 1985, I sent a few Polish books to children in the U.S.A. While there, I found out they had never received them, and they were mailed a year and a half ago. Well, I think someone should be made to answer for such losses. And the GPO Minister was assuring us in the past that this would never happen again...

(Name and address known to the editor)

5174/12379  
CSO: 2600/609

POLITICS

POLAND

# LE MONDE REPORTS ON DEMISE OF AGRICULTURAL FUND

Paris LE MONDE in French 5 Sep 86 p 3

[Article by Jan Krauze: "The Church Abandons its Project of Assistance to Private Agriculture"]

[Text] This time, it is finished: The project--or the dream--which the Polish Church cherished of creating an assistance fund for private agriculture is dead. At the end of 4 years of "negotiations" Cardinal Glemp decided to end himself what appeared more and more like a bad joke. A communique published Wednesday 3 September by the primate's secretariat indicates with genuine firmness that the negotiations have led to a "complete deadlock." "The organic correlation (desired by the authorities) between the fund's operations and those of the government" as well as "the power of decision conferred on the minister of agriculture" are irreconcilable with the "principle of autonomy" which should be the basis for the operation of the fund.

Under these conditions, the primate is instructing the "organization committee" (set up by the episcopate) to "investigate other opportunities to assist agriculture."

The idea which was abandoned today is as bold as it is original. It involved, beginning with donations collected besides in the West, both through the intermediary of the churches (FRG churches in particular) as well as governments or organizations like the EEC, but also donations granted by the Poles in Poland, to try and correct a fundamental defect which is consuming Polish private agriculture: The lack of investments and infrastructures, the near impossibility of the small peasants (who provide 80 percent of production) purchasing equipment or even fertilizer--which would allow them to break with an archaic mode of production.

The founders of the fund certainly did not aim to meet all the needs--huge--in this field, but to start initially a few model operations, to give an example, to arouse enthusiasm, to instill hope in peasants often discouraged in their differences with the administration, who are tempted to abandon the land. While accepting that their efforts are coordinated with those of the

authorities, they intend to remain clearly in control of the project, to avoid being a mere instrument in the hands of a communist government for which both private agriculture as well as the church itself can only logically be tolerated on a temporary basis.

All during the interminable negotiations, the attitude of the Warsaw authorities seemed marked by several concerns of varying importance, depending on the moment: They proclaimed their goodwill and the desire to get results, but they also dragged things out. Each time that a compromise seemed to be found, they created new problems or even returned to points which seemed settled a long time ago. At the same time, the officials, as soon as one questioned them about the subject, pretended to treat the whole matter scornfully, emphasizing gratuitously the insignificance of the amounts actually collected by the episcopate (28 million dollars, but which in the intention of the founders of the fund could have been followed by clearly much larger amounts reaching 2 billion dollars).

However, Warsaw could not go too far in this direction, while not ceasing to request a readjustment of its debt and new western credits. And if as to complicate things a little bit more yet, another, more or less competitive project appeared last fall, that of the Rockefeller Foundation, which contemplated measures to aid all of Polish agriculture. An idea which was obviously much more attractive for the Polish authorities, but David Rockefeller, sensing the trap in spite of everything, stated a little bit later that his own project could not be carried out unless that of the church was implemented.

#### Slow Disappearance

The essential thing for the Warsaw authorities seemed, in any case, to let the project progressively disappear, while carefully avoiding taking the initiative in the break.

On its part, the church knew that this project was very risky for it. First because its success was not certain at all, both for technical reasons, as well as the many traps which the official partner could have set on the way. And also because of the very--too many--great hopes it could have aroused in the countryside. On the contrary, the idea that an unheard-of opportunity was in its grasp, that there really was urgency in aiding the peasants, acted as a spur, pushing the episcopate to accept some concessions. Thus it asked Lech Walesa last spring to reconsider his pledge to contribute to the fund the entire amount of his Noble Peace Prize (of which he has always refused to touch a cent). The authorities made it a question of principle and Walesa declared that he would devote his prize to other charities, such as assistance to hospitals.

On the other hand, Cardinal Glemp pretended not to understand the official suggestions, asking him to replace, at the head of the fund organization committee, Professor Stelmachowski, a specialist in agrarian law but also a

well-known sympathizer of Solidarity with a more "acceptable" personality. For several months, in fact, the church hardly hid its scepticism about the future of its project. The fact of having ended up by taking the leap simplifies the situation in a sense, it clears the field for other negotiations with the government, involving both the domestic situation as well as a possible third visit of the pope. This clear break also prevents the church from incurring another reproach; that of running after an unattainable carrot.

8490

CS0: 2900/11

POLITICS

ROMANIA

SUMMARY OF ARTICLES ON 'MIRCEA THE GREAT,' ANTIFASCIST COMMITTEE

Bucharest LUCEAFARUL in Romanian No 35, 30 Aug 86 p 2

[Unsigned article entitled: "The Truths of a History Magazine"]

[Text] The No. 4, 1986 issue of "Anale de istorie" ["Annals of History"], a magazine published by the Institute of Historical and Socio-Political Studies associated with the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, succeeds in showing how lively history is when it is treated directly, when the researcher does not copy borrowed points of view. The article by Stefan Lache demonstrates how relevant to us are the debates and conclusions of the Paris Peace Conference of 1946, describing a page of contemporary history full of consequences for Europe and the entire world. The commentary on the Romanian National Antifascist Committee, one of the first, "if not the first" in Europe, is also very interesting. Created in June 1933, the Romanian National Antifascist Committee notes the appearance of fascism as an external threat to Romania. A distinction is drawn between states in which immediately after WWI totalitarian regimes came to power (Hungary and Bulgaria) and states in which organizations of the extreme right were brought to power thanks to external support from Hitlerite Germany. The commentary, which takes as its point of departure the contributions of the volume "Comitetul national antifascist roman" ["The Romanian National Antifascist Committee"], published in 1985 emphasizes also other conclusions of the studies it treats, which define Romania's position in the European political circles of the day. The article by Al. Dita on "The Victory of the Romanians at Rovine, 17 May 1395," serves historical truth and opposes old historical interpretations and conclusions and especially certain historiographic mentalities. Citing sources, citing interpretations and dropping false readings as well as unjustified reconstructions--however famous or reputable they might have been--Al. Dita draws our attention to the fact that greater care towards our historic inheritance must be exercised. Al. Dita wrenches the history of this event out of the hackneyed corner into which it had been pushed and restores the true significance of the battles of 1395 at Rovine, the genuine European political context of the time. Freeing truth from the clutches of the foreign press is one of the duties of national historiography. Al. Dita did this for the sake of Mircea the Great, basing his research on new as well as old documents. It only remains that this act of justice towards the past of the Romanian states and people, towards their complex contribution to European affairs, be extended also to other similar cases. Who would be angered by the

news of the Great Voivod Mircea's victory over Beyazid, who would be disturbed by the conclusion that Voivod Mircea was not the vassal of Sigismund of Luxemburg, who would be inconvenienced by the fact that Mircea has the title "the Great", that is, is the model for Stephen the Great vis-a-vis the Ottoman Empire?

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CSO: 2700/310



POLITICS

ROMANIA

NOTES ON HUMANISM OF CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE

Humanism Returns After 'Dogmatic Period'

Bucharest VIATA ROMANEASCA in Romanian No. 5 1986 p. 82

[Article by Cezar Baltag: "Humanism, Continuity..."]

[Excerpts] The literary generation to which I belong felt itself in solidarity with this idea of continuity. Coming after the dogmatic period of frozen, leaden, cultural infertility, after a climate of a degree of rigidity difficult to imagine which tended to produce an almost irreversible hiatus in our national culture, this generation sensed that its opportunity consisted in linking up with those eternal values of our culture, in rediscovering the authentic roots of the intellect. If the self-affirmation tendency of a new generation usually takes the form of proud solitude, of a separation necessary perhaps for purposes of defining its own character, historical destiny has brought it about that, for my generation, this definition of character coincided with the creative restoration of the meaning of Romanian cultural tradition. We did not feel and did not want to feel alone, on the contrary, with and beside the great intellects of our literature, Blaga, Arghezi, Barbu, Bacovia, who showed us through their works as a while (and, during the years of the "obsessed decade", through their silence) where are those great and inexhaustible sources capable of revitalizing literature.

The literary schematism of the '50s evidently represented a period during which humanism was obscured. The generation of the '60s showed an instinctive defensive reaction to this obscuring of humanism. During a time dominated by rhetorical, frozen, oppressingly positive cliches, Nichita Stanescu makes his appearance in poetry, publishing disturbing poems, full of dynamic existential questioning. At a time when in prose--with certain notable exceptions such as Preda or Eugen Barbu--one seldom encountered anyone alive, but rather abstract types, classes, species and schemes. The "wrong-headed" characters of Velea, Fanus Neagu or D.R. Popescu wanted to remind us of a simple fact, namely, that there are in the world individuals possessed of humanity, with an indomitable intellectual life, and not merely abstract characters of one sort or another--or, to put it in words frequently in use during that era, "types."

There took place in the prose, poetry and criticism of the young people of those years a veritable "awakening" of the spirit in the desire to repudiate

those schemes that had hand-cuffed them. A lively feeling of the individual, of the concrete and of humanity returned to our culture.

#### Honest Criticism Essential to Humanism

Bucharest VIATA ROMANEASCA in Romanian No 5 1986 pp 73-74

[Article by Gheorghe Grigurcu: "Criticism: An Essentially Humanist Enterprise"]

[Excerpts] During the period of dogmatism, when Humanism and the Romanian character were both unjustly bracketed in the name of a purely declarative renewal, the humanism of Romanian letters passed into serious eclipse. For all practical purposes, tradition--the foundation of any type of humanism--did not exist, being replaced by a truncated image lacking organic unity. As for the future, it was said: *Ab actu ad posse valet illatio* (What will happen can be deduced from what has already happened.) Not even a narrow-minded, secretive mentality dependent on violent factionalism, distortion and tendentiousness could turn back, today, a creativity that rediscovered itself two decades ago, as if through a miraculous resurrection. This has been a bitter lesson for those who put their trust in simple fantasies and we confess that we don't understand very well what is happening to our colleagues who still hesitate to draw the proper conclusions from this lesson, covering up for individuals and their responsibilities, for circumstances and attitudes of the "obsessed decade," that have been described relatively well in prose as well as criticism. The year 1965, like the few years immediately following, constitutes a border of exceptional significance. Though much still remains to be done, though not all moral developments have been completed, we can see that enormous progress has been made towards creating authentic values. We are certain that lengthy explanations are not necessary to see the way in which the defining features of humanism are illustrated, such as the perfectibility of the human being and increasing intellectual, physical and moral virtues, all taking place in a unified whole. A poem by Stefan Aug. Doinas, a novel by Augustin Buzura, a study by Adrian Marino, an essay by Alexandru Paleologu and a literary review by Nicolae Manolescu all respond to this need. Rationalism, often invoked in connection with humanism, means the knowledge of how to separate the wheat from the chaff, how to point out those works in which we can see ourselves, in which we can believe and of how to project these works, in good faith, into the future. In this way, humanism cannot be separated from a type of criticism that is always vigilant, always on duty, incorruptible. Good literature cannot be separated from good criticism. What would we do without criticism, as long as there are not only writers of value but also those who, as Kierkegaard put it, "are frauds in just the same sense as counterfeit money"? Criticism, regardless of its stripe, is an instance of humanism par excellence and is therefore an absolute necessity. Examine, please!

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CSO: 2700/309

POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

# INDIRECT REPRESENTATION ATTACKED AS UNDEMOCRATIC

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jul 86 pp 15-16

[Article by Vladimir Goati: "Indirect or Direct Elections"]

[Text] Ciril Ribicic says that the dilemma of direct or indirect elections is imagined and false, while Vladimir Goati stands by the view taken in the round table discussion "Democracy Today" to the effect that this is a real dilemma.

In NIN's round table discussion of the topic "Democracy Today," which concerned the problems of the form of elections (direct or indirect elections), there were three participants, including the author of these lines. In my view I took the position--it is an axiom today in political science--that the form of indirect elections of members of a representative body is a less democratic form than direct elections. I also stressed that indirect elections are especially difficult to accept in our country in view of the programmatic commitment to the development of direct democracy (self-management) (and the practice of it).

In his written contribution Ciril Ribicic later presented what in my opinion are unacceptable assertions concerning the manner of election.

His first argument is that the dilemma between direct and indirect elections is an artificial one, which actually means that it does not arise out of the reality of political life, but is rather the fruit of the author's imagination. If this assertion were accurate, it would mean that the electoral form is utterly irrelevant, that both indirect and direct elections have the same impact on political life and on the democratic atmosphere in society. The argument that the form is completely neutral and unimportant with respect to the results in such an essential sphere as the electoral system--which is actually the "central nerve" of every political system--is an absolute novum in political theory as far as my knowledge goes. Unfortunately, new and original ideas are not always accurate. This is in fact the case with this idea of C. Ribicic. It has been known in political theory since time immemorial that indirect elections inevitably strengthen the influence of small groups, which "step into the middle" and as a rule sever the already thin thread (this I emphasize) between the voters and the elected. As for our society, those small groups are personified, as C. Ribicic is certainly well aware, by "cadre groups," "small cadre bodies," etc. There is evidence to the effect that the

influence of these groups on political processes is not unimportant in the fact that they have often been the target of sound public criticism. When elections are faultlessly arranged by these small groups, they inevitably turn into appointments, into a ritual operation whose effects are known in advance. Negative personnel selection is not the only inevitable result of the indirect form of election. Indirect elections also inevitably bring about a reduction of the political involvement of the citizenry. According to the figures of one empirical study in our country (M. Kasapovic), in 1978 and 1982 two-thirds of the citizens abstained from electoral and political activity(!), which I believe is largely the result of precisely the indirect mode of election.

This assertion by C. Ribicic to the effect that the dilemma between direct and indirect elections is an artificial one is also inaccurate from the standpoint of comparative historical examination. In the development of democratic institutions (and of European statehood in general) direct election of members of representative bodies is closely correlated with the development of democracy, while the indirect election is related to less democratic and indeed even nondemocratic solutions. The writers in the last century who concerned themselves with the dilemma of direct or indirect elections were completely aware of the immense importance which adoption of one or the other solution had for political life and the democratic atmosphere in society. It would never have occurred to them, as it has to C. Ribicic, to call the dilemma between indirect or direct elections an artificial one. In short, the dilemma concerning indirect or direct elections is not an artificial one either in the present or in history, but a real one.

However, today this dilemma has been overcome in theory to the advantage of direct elections, and in this century it is difficult to find a democratically oriented theoretician--I also referred to this in the discussion organized by NIN--who would advocate indirect elections. We are not talking here about "bourgeois authors," but about the most important political theoreticians in the ranks of the working class and above all communist movement in the West European countries as well as about writers from the countries of "real socialism." The lack of support for the indirect form of elections of representative bodies is understandable, since defense of such a form is traditionally based in essence on only one point of support--on the assumption of the inability of a majority of citizens to see and make judgments beyond their narrow horizons and so, following that assumption, it is made possible for them to elect only local representatives, and they in turn, representing a selected and elite group, elect representatives at the broader national level.

I am far from thinking (and this needs to be emphasized because of possible misunderstandings) that direct elections are an absolutely good thing, and indirect elections absolutely bad; it is only a question of direct elections being the better (or less bad) form from the standpoint of democracy as a form of a political order, a procedure which itself has its own inherent faults on which volumes have been written since J.J. Rousseau. In any case, the shortcomings of direct elections are easiest to criticize in the name of the ideal equality and equal rights of all citizens, in the name, that is, of the idea of a communist community which has not yet been achieved anywhere. But in emphasizing the shortcomings of direct elections (and of the idea of representation in general) from the standpoint of that high ideal, it should be borne in

mind that the procedure of indirect elections has incomparably greater shortcomings from the same point of view!

The second untenable assertion made by C. Ribicic is that it is a mistake to believe that "our elections are indirect." What strikes one first here is that C. Ribicic is after all caught on the horns of the dilemma between indirect or direct elections which he has previously said was an artificial one. But if it is artificial, then it is quite unimportant whether our elections are indirect or direct! However, C. Ribicic's troubles do not cease with that logical inconsistency. When he says that our elections are not indirect, he is denying something which is obvious. After all, what is one to call a procedure in which the working people in various spheres elect delegations, they in turn elect delegates to all the chambers of the opstina assembly, and the opstina assemblies or their individual chambers elect delegates to the chambers of the republic and provincial assembly, and then finally all the chambers of the opstina assemblies elect delegates to the Federal Chamber, and all the chambers of the republics and provinces elect delegates to the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly? In the language not only of science, but also of common sense we are dealing here with the indirect form of election, more precisely, with multiple indirect elections. To say that this is not an indirect form is to arbitrarily abolish connection between word and meaning. And arbitrariness in the use of concepts and terms which have precise meaning in political science frustrates any meaningful discussion. Under such circumstances everything becomes possible; by playing with meanings white can be called black, indirect direct, and the other way around. However and whenever anyone wishes it. But then we are as far from a scientific dialogue as the sky is from the earth.

7045

CSO: 2800/358

POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

SURVEYS SAID TO SHOW SATISFIED POPULATION

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 19 Aug 86 pp 9-12

[Article by Milan Jajcinovic: "Are Yugoslavs Happy?"]

[Text] About 70 percent of our citizens are satisfied. But that contentment comes from private life, not from work. Why?

Yugoslavs are optimists! According to the results of the most recent survey--conducted by the Market Research Institute and CEMA [an unidentified Yugoslav research institute]--about 18 percent of the adult population is in a happy and optimistic mood, 51 percent (over 8 million people) feel similarly--more happy and full of hope than sad and worried. Seven percent of the respondents are affected "more by sadness and concern than by happiness and confidence," and only 3 percent of Yugoslavs sometimes feel hopelessness. There are no doubts that the Yugoslavs are a sanguine people. After all, only a people personified by the tamburitza, by a song that makes you want to dance the kolo, "there never was...", by the fair, by the church bazaar, by "every man for himself" could perceive in such an optimistic way its basic spheres of life--private life and the workplace. But it is difficult here to escape the impression that this is a belief similar to the one in the joke (which was also probably invented by optimists) in which the pessimist, looking at our reality, says: "It could not be worse," to which the optimist "optimistically" adds: "Sure, sure it could...it could be worse!"

If there had not been a survey like this in mid-1983 (when there were 10 percent more optimists), on the basis of today's results one might think that the researchers took a flawed sample. But no. Hope, cheerfulness, and belief in something better seem to be a Yugoslav constant. In these times this almost resembles madness. After all, while inflation is literally inflating more and more, while debts are rising, more than half of the households are living below the "normal standard of living," and the Law on Temporary Prohibition of Disposition of the Portion of Social Resources for Personal Incomes, Social Services, and Other Purposes is cutting back salaries, 70 percent of the Yugoslav population is content. However, that contentment mainly arises out of private life ("spending time with the family"), and it can be said that a majority of the respondents prefer private life to the workplace (concern with work as a source of satisfaction is mainly referred to by private farmers and craftsmen). It is difficult to be satisfied with work which usually brings in

little (or less than expected), which offers no incentive, and which is not demanding. When we add to this the "belt-tightening" that has been with us for several years and the FEC law enacted in June, then it is clear that contentment cannot be sought in the "kingdom of necessity." It is usually an abhorrence, a place one takes sick leave from, a place one leaves for moonlighting, or it is sabotaged ("whatever they pay me, I can always work less").

### Coalition

The FEC's Law on Salaries, whose intention was to reduce the pressure of demand in the sector of personal consumption on behalf of accumulation and increased output, has already experienced criticism from numerous quarters. This summer's strikes were the loudest and most persistent in this. In Croatia alone its enforcement affected about 100,000 employed persons (in enterprises showing a loss). Consistent enforcement will certainly bring about new dissatisfaction and resentment. Even though for years what had not been earned was distributed, even though for some 20 years now we have had a constant gap between productivity and the rise of personal incomes (accompanied by a steady drop in efficiency), and even though personal incomes often are not based on production (in SR Croatia the average personal income in May was 79,659 dinars), squeezing enterprises that are operating at a loss will certainly bring about new social tensions. And one cannot really believe--on the basis of experience to date--that the government or the political bureaucracy will not use the method of distribution (and other methods) to undertake to mitigate, to channel, and to relieve the tensions with the tried and true system that has repeated itself almost cyclically, whereby the political bureaucracy always once again shows concern for "its own" workers, and the workers repay it with a new loyalty.

"This is a coalition," writes Dr Josip Zupanov, professor, "of unequals in which the patron (the elite) 'protects' the workers (the client), guaranteeing him a minimum income and broad social rights, while the protected party (the workers), dressed up in the clothing of the historical working class ('the historic interest'), furnishes the elite its social legitimacy. This kind of coalition presupposes establishment of two-way communication in the field of 'software,' whereby the workers accept the official ideology, and the elite accepts the value code of radical egalitarianism not because of any sincere egalitarian belief, but because suppressing differences among people simplifies the social system and makes it possible to govern that system more easily."

So as soon as there is tension saturated with resentment and a possible exaltation, there is an immediate "concern" for the worker. The income spread is narrowed, a political witch-hunt begins on middlemen and those who "buy and sell," against social inequities, against "private clearing," against owners of foreign exchange accounts...and against all those "who have become rich without working." And it is always easy to find and win over followers for that purpose. After all, in a country where thousands of moral indignations are "ignited per month" (and at bottom there is envy for the "lucky devil"), in which revenge is a "specific form of sensing and delivering justice," whereby it is a "moral obligation and sacred act," the easiest thing is to

constantly renew egalitarianism, the socialist cliché about "equal stomachs." Failing in this to honor the fact that earnings have a strong motivational role and that different groups are of differing importance to production and that salaries must reflect that importance is to pay allegiance to leveling, that is, to a strengthening of a logic that is strange for an economy, a logic which puts the same value on idleness as on work, while the slacker receives just as much as the one who is diligent. That is why we have so many ugly cases like the one at the Shoe Factory in Modrica which EKONOMSKA POLITIKA has written about. Namely, during a visit of a member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency to that factory the hosts informed him that their workers were classified. The best workers were in the first row of machines, those who were not so good in the second, and the worst ones in the last and third row. The republic official was able to see this for himself, since in the first row no one even looked at him, in the second only someone here and there, while in the third no one ignored him. This is just one of the examples of the attitude toward work and toward idleness. The ultimate that the OOUR can achieve is to put the lazy ones in the last row, like putting them "in the corner." "Even the differences in salaries cannot be large between those in the first row and those in the last row, which in a way is as it ought to be--in both cases they are the best in their categories (workers and idlers)."

So, wherever you go you encounter reduction to the average. And while the spread in earnings is large in the advanced societies, but at an incomparably higher level, the effort is made in our country to average them out so as to reduce the spread, which is in any case based on a low level. Dr Dusko Sekulic of the Sociology Department of the School of Philosophy at Zagreb University comments on this as follows:

"When the regulation on distribution prevents anyone from earning more than others, everyone is usually silent. But when an opportunity is offered to earn more, then everyone rebels (since some people actually do earn it). Quite often there is then a demand to reevaluate the regulation! Which means: equality (regardless of work) yes! But inequality (based on work) no! Is there any need to mention in this connection that intellectual, creative, and mental work fares very badly in this. Even when it is rewarded, an attempt is made to somehow conceal it or overlook it. This secretiveness and a certain sense of shame have entered people's mentality--so that if someone should happen to ask one of the members of that middle stratum (physicians, lawyers, engineers, etc.) how much he earns a month, almost as a rule he will say less than he really earns. And why? Because that is in keeping with the prevailing ideology and ethics..., because you are a thief if you earn 'too much.' This is a strange combination of Old Christian and new socialist ethics."

Which is why it is possible to mobilize most of the population for the "fight against enrichment" (based on work). This is a convenient and profitable cleverness on the part of the political bureaucracy whereby it always is able to win over the "masses of people" once again, turning them against the "enemy," who in that upside-down vision that has been passed off on them turns out to be the one who has suspended and usurped its chances. At the same time--again by tried and true methods, this channels the energy of the population into socially acceptable and ideologically desirable frameworks. Into



the campaign against social inequities and the rich. The survey conducted by the Market Research Institute and CEMA makes it evident how much that historical-political stamp is still with us.

Offering the respondents among other life goals ("live as you please," "work for the good of society," "attain a position in society"... ) the choice "get rich," it was found that only 12 percent of the respondents chose that answer (the highest was 16 percent in Bosnia-Hercegovina and 15 percent in Kosovo, and the lowest was 7 percent in Croatia). Certainly the moral blemish that has been cast on wealth as a product of the "rotten West" had its influence on this choice. Socialist puritanism and its recurrences are difficult to eradicate. Often (as though following the principle: "Money leads the soul to damnation!") they even have the effect of perniciously casting society into an abyss of poverty.

"These are the old stupidities of the socialist purists," says Dusko Sekulic, "who constantly, intentionally, or involuntarily wish to proclaim socialism a society of poor people. Yet that is not the truth. On the contrary! That is why we should revive Bukharin's phrase: 'Get rich!' The government should be happy that its citizens are rich. But no.... Tourism is certainly the best illustration of its fear. The people who have gained wealth from tourism and are living well are all but proclaimed to be thieves. From time to time there is a hue and cry against such people in the name of reducing social inequities. And this is nonsense and irrational from the standpoint of economic logic--but from the political standpoint it is quite rational. After all, instead of channeling the money earned in that way for social purposes by suitable economic mechanisms, the nonsensical precepts of the egalitarian syndrome are constantly revived in attacks on such individuals. The same is also true of foreign exchange savings. After all, it is the most normal thing in the world to convert one's earnings into foreign currencies today when the dinar has utterly lost its value. (Anyone who keeps dinars in a bank today deserves a medal!) Moreover, foreign currencies cannot be simply taken out of circulation however much fuss is raised (a million people outside the country, a dinar that is far from convertibility). And instead of taking advantage of that foreign exchange potential (there are a number of ways), pressure is exerted on it in the name of the 'class interest.' This hue and cry against the owners of foreign exchange accounts is extremely loud, although the stratification based on foreign exchange is less serious than the one based on housing. But it is not spoken about so frequently--after all, those who have the housing as a rule also have the political power, so they keep silent and cover it up. But there is plenty of talk about foreign currencies, although today they are more and more becoming the way in which the middle strata (and parts of the working class and peasantry) are defending themselves against the constant drop in the standard of living. The hue and cry against foreign exchange are only a part of the same mind set that is so evident in the average Yugoslav consciousness.

"That is in fact why the fundamental issue raised by the Law on Salaries can be displaced by the pattern of traditional poverty that has been renewed over the centuries (in which all are equal in their poverty), which over the last 40 years or so has been warmed over once again with campaigns against 'kulaks,'

'black marketeers,' and 'profiteers.' So can a market and its laws come to life if the government continues to be the tutor and 'protector' of the economic sphere and of the workers in it? After all, even today it is often considered heresy and almost politically undesirable to talk about the market. But the fact is that the 'working class' is in a situation where the tentacles of the state, octopus that it is, stand in front of the factory gates and has been reduced--in spite of the unceasing spokesman who 'worshiped' it--to a mere nominal decisionmaker deprived of legitimate rights and real work incentives. Having taken almost everything into its hands, the government has at the same time preserved its state of sluggishness and the 'what do I care' system; having bound the workers almost symbiotically to itself. Refusing to allow economic laws to make headway (in a number of heads that is equivalent to reviving capitalism), the state has become directly involved in life within the factory fences, setting itself up like an arbiter who determines how much each workplace is to get from the redistribution of the national income, how much from foreign credits, and how many new workers the particular work organization must hire (even at the price of dropping productivity). This effort, aimed at constant hiring (instead of efficient production) has come to the point where full employment has not been achieved, and efficiency has fallen still more (last year in Croatia alone 256 million dinars more were paid out in personal incomes than was allowed), and the new SIV law will affect several hundred thousand employed Yugoslavs."

What is all that going to look like? Will certain factory gates soon be padlocked, and the workers on the street? Can the lines of force of the market escape the magnetic field of the administrative approach? Dr Dusko Sekulic is skeptical about the seriousness of such attempts. He believes that the entire stabilization program will fail to be carried out as conceived since in the short run it creates and augments social differences, achieves a differentiation of the successful and unsuccessful ("those operating at a loss would be shut down"), and it spreads social insecurity. The intensification of social differentiation involved here strikes a blow at the deepest ideological nexus. As soon as that happens, politics immediately comes on the scene, and everything comes to a stop. Market laws are suspended, social insecurity is reduced, and attempts are made to correct it. Again the government emerges as the savior of the workers...and everything starts over from the beginning. So earnings, Dr Sekulic warns, are in fact the best litmus paper of the stabilization program. Aside from that, it even pays the opstina to have some enterprise that is semiprofitable. In that way it partially solves the problem of unemployment (or prevents it from getting worse) and at the same time it even has some contribution from that factory. Why did Obrovac fight until the last hour for "Jadral"? That is not madness! That is a part of a system in which the opstina has some benefit even from enterprises on the margin. What happens if the free reign of the market results in the shutting down of these vegetating factories is probably one of the major issues troubling our political elite. It might equally concern the workers. Why? Certainly, another part of the answer is to be found in these quotes from Dr Dusan Bilandzic, professor:

"It is enough to say that we have some kind of market economy, which is an ingredient of the Western system. But the existence of the government and of

this kind of party, such as it is with all its powers to intervene, are largely a legacy of state socialism. We are a mixed system in which there are elements of self-management, state socialism, and capitalism. We do not have a social entity that has a vital interest in the market mechanism on its own behalf. The political bureaucracy does not want it, nor does the working class or the technostucture want it. Living for 40 years in semistate socialism has created a mentality whereby you do not take responsibility for being the creator of your own happiness and you do not share the fate of your goods as the private entrepreneur does in the West. For all your troubles both when you sleep and when you work you have behind you the state, which will come to save you. That syndrome which socialism has developed, including our self-management syndrome, is its Achilles' heel. It stands in the way of people becoming the creators of their own happiness and this applies not only to individuals, but also to OOUR's, the work organization, and the commune; everyone expects someone else to support him and maintain him. This syndrome is so strong that the specter of the market mechanism has no chance."

### Vegetation

Dr Dusko Sekulic says that in a market economy which is not based on private ownership immensely rich strata cannot be created (as they have been in the West), and he says that the market alters relations among industries, groupings, regions, and republics, and that probably accounts for most of the fear of such a mechanism. It would at the same time institute remuneration according to the results of work; no one would be paid simply for going to work and for idleness, nor would there be those receiving minimum income and social welfare, and the workers would be able to become the creators of their own happiness (assuming they want to).

"If we want a country," as Dusko Sekulic puts it, "that is relatively shut off and has relative social peace, then the present government efforts are functional and rational. They might even be very successfully concealed behind demagogic slogans about the need for employment, not shutting down the factories, and throwing the workers out on the street. There is no doubt that the administrative system is more in line with our ideological outlook, since the market system always strikes mercilessly at the ideological heart of the system (unemployment, shutting down factories, differences in earnings, and social inequality). If the market were introduced, it would increase social tension at least in the first phase--it always strikes at the ideological foundations of the system and undermines the power of the political hierarchy. That is why that strategy is by far more difficult, more painful, and more uncertain for the top level of that hierarchy. On the other hand, though, its political legitimacy is nevertheless based on achievement of self-management, and that is why the top level of the hierarchy cannot go all the way in imposing the command-planning system. Then its political legitimacy would be in question. Then the gap between what is real and what has been proclaimed would be still greater. That is why I am afraid that we will grow old in that division."

"Actually, it seems that we would like both, a little bit of the market and a little bit of political control of the market. Yet those things are incompatible. Moreover, the introduction of arbitration of the market results in a

redistribution of social power, autonomy at all levels, and that is why it is not instituted. That is why we will continue to have constant changes, explorations, a gap between what has been stated and what is authentic..., a pendulum system. I am afraid that we will grow old in that gap. After all, societies do not 'always' collapse--they also vegetate."

Although we are a people who loves parties and sewing bees, we have to get beyond that. If we are not going to vegetate, we have to rouse ourselves from lethargy, from that sweet mist of contentment. We must finally begin to throw off the burden of our age-old traditionalism, "socialist" dogma and bias which we have been dragging around this region like some kind of spiritual satraps (alter egos). Only then will a sanguine outlook have its justification in reality. This way it is still only a part of Balkan folklore.

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CSO: 2800/352

POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

RETIRED POLITICIAN TODOROVIC CALLS FOR TRANSFORMATION OF LCY

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jun 86 pp 12-17

[Interview with Mijalko Todorovic by Dragan Tanasic: "The Party's Legitimacy Cannot Be Passed on Like an Inheritance"; date and place not given]

[Text] For almost 10 years now the ideological battle of wits and name-changing have gone on concerning the condition of the Yugoslav social community. At the beginning, when the first truly fierce signs of the crisis appeared, it was only admitted that "we have encountered certain economic difficulties," but their causes were found on the other side of the borders of Yugoslavia: in the world energy crisis. Incidental mention was made of "certain weaknesses in society having also affected the League of Communists...."

The crowning appraisal from that time was uttered by a high party official in Serbia: "The political situation in Yugoslavia is excellent, but the economic situation is bad...." The pattern of his statement was taken up and repeated by other spokesmen of our politics until the nationalistic demonstrations occurred in Kosovo, and many other disagreements in Yugoslavia's sociopolitical elite reached the public. Since that time many theoreticians have written to the effect that the causes of the social crisis are to be sought in Yugoslavia's body politic. The thesis that the crisis arises out of the system and that the system is created by the party, and accordingly that it is historically accountable both for the achievements and also the failures is a characteristic which all these writings have in common. Mijalko Todorovic's book "Politicko bice drustvene krize" [The Political Identity of the Social Crisis] is the most recent among those published so far. Although written in 1984, it has not lost any of its relevance whatsoever. On the contrary, events have only confirmed the author's analysis and predictions. Written in comprehensible language and a very terse style, in only 227 pages the book has covered all the more essential aspects of our present economic and political crisis, and in that sense it is probably the most complete book on this topic. One particular virtue of this book is that along with his critical examination the author also offers possible solutions--of course, as he sees them. Although consistently critical, and to some people it might seem that it is even very severe in places, Todorovic's book is still encouraging, since it examines possibilities for emerging from the present crisis.

"The basic premise from which Todorovic starts out is irrefutable," writes one of the book's reviewers, Dr Predrag Vranicki, professor, "to the effect that the further development of self-management democracy, economic and political, is the only way out of the situation both for our own socialism and for any other socialism."

Some readers of Todorovic's book will also probably be disappointed that it is altogether depersonalized. Nowhere are the names of the principal creators of the system and historical figures mentioned, but only the situation, the problems, the events, and the general trends. Consistent in that respect, Todorovic refused to mention the figures involved in events in this interview as well.

Mijalko Todorovic has so far published five books: "Oslobadjanje rada" [Emancipation of Labor], "Samoupravljanje--istorijska teznja radnicke klase" [Self-Management--The Historical Aspiration of the Working Class], "Preobrazaj Saveza komunista Jugoslavije" [Transformation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia], "O ustavnoj reformi u Jugoslaviji" [On the Constitutional Reform in Yugoslavia], and "Ka zajednici slobodnih proizvođača" [Toward a Community of Free Producers].

#### The Reality Which Is Not There

[Question] Comrade Todorovic, in its very title your book "Politicko bice drustvene krize" unambiguously names and locates the causes of the crisis. Many other serious social theoreticians also think that the causes of the crisis lie in the political system itself. At the political summit some of its members, judging at least by the recent document "Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management," feel that the system is a good one, but merely needs to be improved....

[Answer] One should really give some thought to what it means to "improve" the present system when the crisis is shaking the very foundations of society and of the state. Quite enough time has already passed for the system to display its virtues and advantages. I really do not know how it would be possible to separate the crisis of society from the "body politic," that is, from the political system which is in place....

I feel that the system is in conflict with reality and is somehow "traveling" without society....

[Question] Josip Zupanov has an aphorism: "Theory takes the road, while practice goes through the woods."

[Answer] That does seem to be the case. Incidentally, our political system was in fact designed in such a way as to presuppose a reality which wasn't there. It is my belief that this has in time brought about a situation where nothing can be done in a planned and organized way, nor is it possible to govern the country effectively. This kind of system is based on a "cadre" nomenclature, and the "cadre" is fighting to perpetuate the system.

Accordingly, the causes of the crisis lie in the social system as a whole, both economic and political. The economic system was shaped by those who hold political power, since the authoritarian, bureaucratic, and politocratic system has a need for an economic basis of its power, for the domination of those who administer it--in production, exchange, distribution, and consumption. That is why bureaucracy is its logical foundation.

[Question] Whose influence was decisive in making it what it is today?

[Answer] The entire political system is the work of the party, that is, of the top party leadership. It is the creator of a system "after its own image and likeness." The party is hierarchical, "democratic-centralistic," and it possesses an ideological and political monopoly and monopoly over personnel. This is unfortunately the reality of all countries where communist parties have taken power. The 3 years of obstruction of implementation of the Long-Range Program demonstrates the full linkage and interdependence between the present political system and statism. The blockade of the Long-Range Program has been postponing the self-management autonomy of enterprises, commodity production, and the market, since that would signify taking economic power away from the party and government bureaucracy....

[Question] If we accept your appraisal that the principal cause of the present crisis is the political system and that this has been especially manifested in the last decade, in the functioning of the Federation, then I must ask you: To what extent was the 1974 Constitution the generator of that situation?

[Answer] I mentioned in the book that the roots of the crisis reach far back, that in the seventies it only speeded up and struck deeper. The constitutional changes between 1971 and 1974 and the laws embodying the system which followed the constitution undoubtedly contributed to that acceleration and deepening. Certain constitutional provisions were not carried out, since in their present state they were simply unenforceable; others did not correspond to our historical reality, and still others, which were carried out, brought about adverse social consequences. Certain constructive and progressive provisions are not being carried out, since the present social relations do not allow it.

[Question] Could you mention some of those provisions?

[Answer] I am referring to all those norms which speak about democratic rights and freedoms. Incidentally, I am referring to self-management itself as the essential question on behalf of which the new constitution was in fact adopted. As we all know, self-management has not progressed since that time, much less has it been achieved.

Instead of a real analysis of the prerequisites of the system itself, instead of an acknowledgment that we cannot go on this way any longer, the defenders of the status quo have won out once again by prescribing norms to govern the system and by institutionalizing dogmatism.

[Question] Who advocated that kind of system most strongly?

[Answer] You know yourself who were the principal architects of the organization of our society. Put most simply, it was our country's top leadership. There are those who think that the crisis of the political system is only a crisis of the "functioning" of the Federation. However, I would not agree with that, since the crisis of the entirety of the political system is reduced in that way. The crisis of the functioning of the Federation is only one of the elements expressing the deeper disturbances in the entirety of the political system.

[Question] In the public date which preceded it it was said that by virtue of the constitution itself Yugoslav society would further develop its socialist content by means of socialist self-management.... How much of that has essentially been achieved by virtue of that document? Has the monopoly of the League of Communists, that is, of its leadership bodies, been diminished, for example?

[Answer] Unfortunately, nothing essential has changed with respect to socialist content. As I said a little while ago, socialist self-management continues to be in a state of stagnation; what is more, it is going backward, and in many areas it does not for all practical purposes exist. Just because you have introduced socialist ideas into a constitution still does not mean that you have introduced socialist conditions and content into society. But socialism, you know, is not just a matter of adopting a constitution....

As for the part of your question about whether the role of the League of Communists has diminished since then, I must answer that precisely the opposite has happened: the last constitution even gave formal legitimacy to the League of Communists as a government party, from which it follows in practice that the government has been legitimized as a party government. The 1974 Constitution also restored to the League of Communists the monopoly which it once had, which means that the party has again become omnipotent.

[Question] At what level? At the federal or some other?

[Answer] At the federal level it has diminished, especially since 1980, but the monopoly of its leadership bodies, especially at the republic-provincial level, has on the other hand been strengthened. The federal leadership has as much power as the republic-provincial leadership bodies relinquished to it on an ad hoc basis.

#### Privileges Have Been Holding Back Changes

[Question] A constitution imposed from above, which is how you see it, has the characteristics of an imposed constitution. What are those characteristics manifested in?

[Answer] As you yourself say, all reforms in our country have been carried out from above. As though it would be strange to do it the other way about. For a time, in the past, that was indispensable. The desire for socialism had



to be created. Unfortunately, that later degenerated into its opposite. Changes in social relations can hardly be carried out if they do not express a need, above all a need in the work process, or if they are not the result of a mass social movement, of activity on the part of the working people and citizens, an expression of their experience and capabilities.... All changes are in essence imposed when these premises are ignored. Nothing will undergo essential change because a public discussion is held on the basis of some project from above.... In short, unless there are alternative proposals, spontaneous or organized, as an expression of a free democratic debate, there cannot be any essential changes in social relations either.

For a time we went too far in replacing old constitutions with new ones and in enacting new laws, just as today we suffer from the inability to change the present normative situation....

[Question] What is the origin of the contradiction that at a time when the situation in the country was quite stable, and the economy was relatively successful, constitutions followed one upon the other, while today, when the crisis is so deep and when many mechanisms in the functioning of the state are blocked, resistance is being offered to essential changes?

[Answer] The answer to that is simple and has already become a commonplace in our political discussions. The changes are being resisted by those holders of political power who have gained positions which guarantee various advantages and privileges both to them personally and to the areas which they represent.

[Question] How would you briefly define the present constitution?

[Answer] That is difficult to do in a short space. Still I would have to say that it has not only been imposed, but it also represents a mixture of the doctrinaire and normativistic with poorly conceived "AVNOJ-ist" themes with respect to the character and shape of the Federation. Of course, it also contains an influence from that prewar "school of communism" which has been studied abroad. You see, the idea that the constitution, that is, a document, a norm, certainly an important one, can go further in the development of socialist self-management than the authentic social conditions has after all, whether we want to admit it or not, turned out to be illusory and erroneous.

[Question] That constitution, as we know, abolished the Chamber of Producers in the SFRY Assembly. Was that one of the documents that helped to break up economic entities and to set in opposition to one another the interests of natural allies, which is ultimately what happened in the creation of the national economies?

[Answer] It is not just a question of abolishing the Chamber of Producers as something that encouraged the disintegration of Yugoslavia. It is a question of the SFRY Assembly as a whole: its composition and the manner of election of delegates to the various chambers did not correspond to our social situation. This assembly system has been in place for 12 years, which is a sufficiently lengthy period to verify its validity. This kind of assembly has not justified itself either as the supreme democratic body of government authority

or as the central body of self-management. The dysfunctional disintegrative character of the present shape of the Federation have been manifested in its functioning. The absence of the Chamber of Associated Labor has certainly worked toward disintegration, but neither has the existing Federal Chamber had an integrative effect, since in its method of operation, and this is no accident, but resulted from the manner of its election and its composition, it is unable to have an integrative impact. That is why improving the SFRY Assembly by merely establishing the Chamber of Producers would not essentially alter the present situation.

In my opinion the abolition of the Chamber of Producers did not result in the creation of the national economies, although it did make a contribution. Much more essential causes arising out of the concept of the entire social system were working toward formation of the national economies....

[Question] What in your opinion should be the physiognomy of the SFRY Assembly?

[Answer] I think that a tricameral system would best suit the self-management and democratic form of the Federation: the Chamber of Republics and Provinces (the people's chamber), the Chamber of Labor (chamber of producers), and the Federal Chamber.

#### Time Without Events

[Question] You have called the period from 1970 to 1980 "a time without events." Many other analysts of our social conditions believe by contrast that major changes took place in that period and have had essential consequences for subsequent social developments: there was the letter of the Executive Bureau which to a great extent displaced lawfulness and lawful behavior, voluntarism took on unprecedented proportions, and as a result of all that the most important wrong moves were made in the economy, mistakes whose consequences will be felt by many generations to come....

[Answer] I must confess that this question of yours is quite interesting. I think that that period deserves particular attention and analysis on the part of all our social theoreticians. But I would not speak at length about that right now. I will say only this: in this quite recent political history of ours there have been various periods which generated the present crisis to a greater or lesser extent and either indirectly or directly. The period following 1972 was a time when we went back to the methods of operation, especially with respect to the role of the party, and to the period before the proclamation of self-management. Unfortunately, the repetition of certain events is usually expressed as a farce.

In any case, it was the period from 1975 to 1980 that I referred to as a time without events, and the reason is that during that period there were no essential shifts whatsoever in social and political relations, nor indeed were there any changes in personnel. The mass production of legal norms concerning self-management was offered as self-management itself, creating the appearance of social changes.... A standard of living beyond the results of production

was maintained by borrowing abroad in order to keep peace in the house and for personal peace of mind. Of course, that kind of situation was favorable to economic mistakes, since they could be covered up with abundant loans from abroad.

The period from 1971 to 1974, and especially the events in 1972, the letter which you mentioned and what occurred thereafter: voluntarism and, as you say, the displacement of legality and lawful behavior, privileges and other forms of usurpation, signified the introduction to this time without events, and indirectly as an introduction to the crisis as well.

[Question] You also reflect in the book about whether a communist party and its leaders must be the sole authentic interpreters of the interests of the working class and its historic mission. That is, you quite clearly indicate that the working class can pursue its interests by organizing itself into several parties. That position of yours does not agree with Lenin's thesis about the party, nor with the opinion of many of our leaders.

[Answer] The entire body of historical experience and present-day reality demonstrate that a communist party must not, and usually is not, the sole authentic interpreter of the interests of the working class. In certain European countries such as England, West Germany, and so on, for example, the workers do not so to speak see the Communist Party as the representative and interpreter of their interests. What is more, in Poland the working class has revolted against the Communist Party. Even according to Marx, only the working class itself can be legitimized as the authentic interpreter of the interests of the working class. But a distinction needs to be made between "only" and "itself." When I say "only," I mean that no party can say to "its" class "this is your interest," since every class has its own interest.

[Question] And that is exactly what has happened in the socialist states up to this point?

[Answer] In speaking about those countries, we might actually speak about the class and about "its" party or parties. But let me finish what I was saying. So, it is another matter when I say "itself." That then emphasizes the importance of the political-party organization of the working class through one or more worker parties. For example, such as the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Social Democratic Party, and others.

Once it has been recognized as the authentic interpreter, in a revolution, for example, this does not mean that the Communist Party has thereby been legitimized for life and can pass on that legitimacy as an inheritance.

#### Blockades Because of Monopolies

[Question] I have also put this question to certain others whom I have interviewed, and I would like to hear your opinion: Are the terms and the set of ideological categories from the time of the Third International still usable?

[Answer] Certainly not. Under the influence of modern technology and changes in the work process, the physiognomy and character of the working class and the social structure have undergone essential change from that period when the Bolshevik type of communist party came into being. Accordingly, both the form and character of its political organization and representation of its interests must necessarily undergo change. The communist party of that type is today outdated. The Communist Party of Italy offers the example of constructive change; it has been trying to build its strategy in keeping with present-day domestic and European reality, in order to preserve and strengthen its place and influence in Italian society. The Communist Party of France offers the opposite example.

[Question] And our own League of Communists?

[Answer] Well, our party was among the first to recognize this need some 3.5 decades ago. Unfortunately, the League of Communists, as I mentioned a little while ago, has again gone back to the old methods to a large extent, so that now its main strength lies in government authority instead of in the movement, in the creative activity of the broadest strata of society.

[Question] You have also expressed doubt that the rule of the communist organization must necessarily be the rule of the working class?

[Answer] Rule in the name of the working class, that is, party rule of any kind, whether we are talking about the communist party or some other party, is not the direct rule of the working class itself. The rule of the working class is expressed as its economic and social domination, and it is achieved through the institutions of direct democracy and socialist self-management. And when that does not exist, there is no rule of the working class either. Verbally we have rejected the doctrine of the rule of the communist party as the rule of the working class, proclaiming the self-management orientation back in the early fifties. However, in reality we have not gotten away from that model of behavior and that system. We only weakened it and perhaps for that reason made it still more inconsistent, more irrational and inefficient. Like religious believers we go on thinking that the rule of the class to which we appeal must inevitably be expressed in party rule.

[Question] At one point you say that the one-party system in which a power elite holds a political and ideological monopoly is not in principle closer to socialist self-management and self-management democracy than a multiparty system in which there is a competition among political elites...?

[Answer] I continue to think that in principle it is no closer, and it has been shown in practice that it can be much further away. What is more, it can also frustrate the process of socialist self-management and other democratic forms of political life. In both cases these blockades occur because of the monopoly of power established for the small party elites. The monopoly of a power "elite," which is renewed by cooptation and is not subject to any social verification whatsoever, neither as to its composition nor its policy, which has no competitors, may be more conservative and more unfavorable in its consequences than the multiparty system. In a multiparty system there is a

competition of individuals and alternative programs. (Moreover, as a rule the multiparty system operates in the direction of broader political activation of individual citizens, especially during election campaigns.) Finally, a monopoly on the part of the elite in the one-party system, which cannot be legally removed and replaced, is one thing, and the monopoly of the elite of a party which is subject to political competition and can be removed is something else.

That is why the communist parties dare not be political parties in the conventional sense, parties in power, but must be parties of the movements and organizations of a system without parties. At the same time, but as an expression of full democracy, there should be broad political movements of which it is only a part, a part which has no separate interest outside that movement for democratic self-management. The Socialist Alliance could be helpful in that regard.

[Question] And to what system do you now give preference?

[Answer] Political democracy is a condition for the development of socialist self-management. Accordingly, that political system which offers more democratic rights and freedoms, which makes it possible for citizens and working people to participate more broadly in management of the affairs of society, has the advantage.

#### The Superior Power of Small Groups

[Question] What do you mean by political democracy?

[Answer] Certainly a consistent political democracy presupposes political pluralism. In our political system this question has been evaded and avoided with the formula concerning "pluralism of interests in self-management." However, a pluralism of interests in general, and that would also include those of "self-management," cannot be a program, since it has already been "brought about," it exists at the basis of every society, and that in a quite trivial sense. That formula simply signifies evasion of political democracy, without which, as I have said, there is neither self-management nor direct self-management democracy.

[Question] Both in the book and in this interview you insist that democracy is an essential prerequisite for effective functioning of the state and for the development of any society. In the book, however, you make this remark: "In a system with ideological and political monopoly and monopoly over personnel of a single party, which as the ruling party has the right to meddle in all things, it is not possible to establish a constant and effective democratic legal system and a lawful government.... Such a party is above the system, it takes for granted its right to act even unconstitutionally...." If it is as you say, where are the roots of this kind of behavior by the party?

[Answer] The cause of that kind of behavior of the party should be sought first of all in its nature, in its position in society, in the way it operates, and in its hierarchical, "democratic-centralistic" character. The very term

"ruling party" implies that all organizations and institutions, indeed the government itself, are its transmission belts. In this way the party in actuality appropriates the state and "acts it out," so that the enforcement of legal norms and the entire legal system is made arbitrary. This voluntarism is then carried over to the entire administrative, governing, and economic apparatus, and indeed even to individual citizens themselves.... It becomes optional....

[Question] Which accounts for the constant appeals for simple morality, respect for the law?

[Answer] Exactly. Which is why we are constantly reiterating that the laws need to be enforced and respected, we reiterate what is taken for granted as the normal state of affairs by very definition in any civilized state.

[Question] We often speak about parallel informal authority. How would you define it?

[Answer] In the only possible way: as superior power. However, the trouble is that this does not denote the forms in which it occurs, those who are the protagonists, or where the roots are. Actually the reason for this is the monopoly of the League of Communists over ideology, policy, and personnel, and by and large the protagonists are very small groups in the party committees, various coordinating commissions, and the like--from the opstina to the Federation.

#### Violence Done to History

[Question] In the book you find the cause for the rigidity of party behavior in the "CP nature of the party." Are you referring to the model of the Communist Party of the Third International, and to what extent is the character of such a party at all compatible with self-management?

[Answer] No communist party, except the Italian to some extent, has freed itself of the Comintern pattern of behavior and dominance. If the party itself is undemocratic, it cannot fight for democracy, and if in addition it is a "democratic-centralistic" organization, then it logically cannot honor the self-management activity of its membership. Finally, how is it possible to reconcile the terms "ruling," that is, the monopoly position of the communist party, with the self-management autonomy of enterprises and social communities?

Hierarchical "democratic centralism" was a good form of behavior at a time when power had to be taken "by an onslaught," under the specific conditions of underdeveloped countries. However, later when it was necessary to carry out social transformations of a socialist character, when it was necessary to breathe life into the social soul of the political revolution, that model proved to be unsuitable. What is more, as such it becomes a check on social development, since it halted the revolution with the taking of power, and it undertook social transformations voluntaristically, without respecting the inherited social reality that existed and the indisputable values of the society

that was already in place. In that way it did a kind of violence to history. This type of organization is especially unsuitable in advanced countries, as unambiguously proven by the positions of communist parties in those countries.

[Question] You see the way out of the crisis in a democratic transformation of the League of Communists. However, if as you say it has up until this point maintained the character of a conventional party with monopoly over progressiveness, what convinces you that in the future it will give up the image of its being the source and the spring of all progressive and creative intelligence? I ask you this question because so far in history no one has yet divested himself of power.

[Answer] Without democratic transformation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia there is no democracy in society, nor do the conditions obtain for overcoming the crisis. As for the prospects for doing away with its monopoly, that can be achieved only by taking power away from the oligarchical groups in the bodies of leadership of the League of Communists, from the federal and republic center to the opstina. This divestiture can be carried out only under pressure from below. In the rank and file, among the working people and citizens, there are progressive self-managing democratic forces which could exert that kind of democratic pressure. It needs to be said that within the broader bodies of leadership of the League of Communists that kind of disposition and strength exists, but they cannot change relations in that spirit without vigorous support from below. That is why the possibility of an organized democratic transformation of the League of Communists constitutes the question of whether and when those potential forces will become effective. As for your remark that no one has yet divested himself of power--it has to be admitted that that is true. That is why I emphasize that democracy is an indispensable condition for such changes. Since it is an obstacle to monopoly, it is a prerequisite so that no one can become a tyrant.

[Question] Let us go back just a bit to the causes of the crisis, to the domination of politics over economics, which is why economic laws have been neglected, and you say that the development of socialist self-management has also been frustrated.... Once again I ask you to name the principal protagonists of the blockade of the development of self-management.

[Answer] In answer to the question of who is holding back the development of self-management everyone will tell you it is the bureaucracy. Bureaucratic statism is reproached by everyone: both the people and the government and the rank and file and leadership of the League of Communists as well as workers and directors. It would be logical, then, if we asked ourselves how come bureaucratic statism has so much power, when everyone is against it? The answer, however, is much more simple: the source of bureaucracy lies in the institutionalized system, and its protagonists usually hold the dominant positions in society and in the government. Together with certain officials of other public organizations, to some extent with directors in the economy and the chief editors of newspapers, radio, and television, they constitute what we refer to as the "activ" that determines policy and defines the system, and it is within this group that the most important party-government and public positions are distributed and redistributed. This is the knot one must start with in unraveling the crisis we fell into long ago.

## Cynical Appeals to AVNOJ

[Question] Your admonition that Yugoslavia as a state is neither an agreement nor contract is quite essential and well put. If it is an objective historic fact, as you say, and not a matter of subjective will in this period of time, regardless of whether that will is in favor of socialism or something else, how then is it possible for individuals in the supreme bodies of government to declare that it is a good thing that it was occupied and that it should not even have been defended?

[Answer] Identification of the type and form of the state and its mechanisms and method of operation with the content of the state as representative of the homeland is a quite recent phenomenon that became especially frequent in the early seventies when the constitutional amendments were being adopted and the Federation set up and when they were being defended. In so doing those same people often appeal in all respects to the decisions of AVNOJ!

[Question] Please tell us how it is possible to appeal to the decisions of AVNOJ when some of the present arrangements in the Federation were not only not projected at that time, they were not even mentioned?

[Answer] In the Second Session of AVNOJ there was deliberation and discussion about how we would set up Yugoslavia, which already existed as a state, without disrupting continuity because of the occupation and partitioning by the enemy, since that partitioning was never recognized by the unified national liberation movement of Yugoslavia, which expressed the disposition and the will of the nationalities of Yugoslavia. That was the objective historical fact concerning which there was absolutely nothing to discuss. Now all of a sudden an attempt is made not only to prove that Yugoslavia did not exist as a state either before or during the war, nor as a Partizan and AVNOJ state, nor in the postwar period between 1946 and the constitutional amendments in 1971 and 1974, but some individuals even behave in practice as though that were the case. In other words, individuals are behaving as though Yugoslavia came into being only with the new constitution as a result of an agreement and contract, and in so doing they cynically appeal to the decisions of AVNOJ.

The only ones who opposed the existence of the Yugoslav state and its defense against the fascist conquerors and who favored its occupation were the fifth column forces and national traitors. If someone is repeating such reactionary and fifth column statements today, as you say, "from the highest government bodies," then this may be an extremely disturbing picture of the condition our state and society are in, an astounding indicator of the political system and of the electoral system in particular.

[Question] The Ljubljana economist Bogomir Kovac says that over the last 65 years all reforms in the socialist countries have failed precisely because this is a "model for establishing power, not economic efficiency...." So my question is this: Can a party which came into being at a time when it was outlawed, in which strict hierarchical relations were nurtured for years and a conspiratorial spirit developed, open itself up to society? In short, is it possible for such a party to become the protagonist of a social blueprint



which presupposes freedom and democracy, economic efficiency, and social usefulness?

[Answer] If one is to judge by the history to date of those countries in which communist parties have come to power, the holders of political power show no desire whatsoever for social change in the direction of greater democratic rights and freedoms, economic efficiency, and social usefulness. To be sure, there are certain signs today in China and Hungary, but this is not yet enough for us to be able to speak about this with confidence. The reason for this, as I have been saying throughout this interview, lies in a party which has absolute monopoly over ideology, politics, and personnel, and to some extent even over esthetics, so that the government is the "institutionalized rule of the party." The roots of this go back to the hierarchical-monopolistic, "democratic-centralistic" nature of the party.

That type of party was created in order to take power more easily, moreover to take it "by assault." It was created in a very backward country in tsarist Russia, where the working class was small and which had an absolutist government, so that the party operated deep underground. Such a party successfully performed that role in Russia, Yugoslavia, and China. But following the political revolution, when the time comes for social changes in the direction of democratization, its nature as an organization for command and assault will instead be more oriented toward holding power and toward the kind of voluntaristic socioeconomic and political system which will guarantee it that power.

[Question] In order to obtain legitimacy to that kind of behavior the party proclaims any very serious criticism from the ranks of the membership and individual citizens as antisocialist.

[Answer] Of course, and at the same time it constantly "exacerbates the class struggle" and multiplies the enemies, as you have said, since they are its need, they are a condition of its monopoly, and, if you like, a condition of its survival. The ultimate consequences of this kind of hierarchical-centralistic rule are monolithism, autocracy, and creation of the charismatic leader. Shut off from influence of the rank and file, this kind of organization excludes almost every possibility for activity of those social forces that would desire democratic transformations. So, that is why the announced reforms have not only failed to be carried out, but nowhere up to now have they even adopted the blueprint for changing the present system. In other words, they by and large carry out minor repairs, but the essence of the system remains the same: to preserve the monopoly of the party in power.

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CSO: 2800/356

POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

VOJVODINA ACADEMICIAN BOROJEVIC DISCUSSES 'YUGOSLAVISM'

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jul 86 pp 20-23

[Interview with Slavko Borojevic by Jovo Paripovic: "What Really Is Yugoslavism?" date and place not given]

[Text] The President of the Vojvodina Academy of Arts and Sciences discusses mistakes in development, the country's ideological and political situation, and the dangers facing us if we fail to develop Yugoslavism.

DANAS: When you took the speaker's podium at the 13th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, you surprised many people by not discussing the issues of agriculture or science. Instead, you talked about the country's ideological and political situation and the crisis, our great crisis. What do you think of the crisis and its causes? What is the way out of it?

Borojevic: Many people who are more competent than I am have expressed their views on this. Books about it were written by Branko Horvat, Professor Bajt, Drago Vojnic, and Najdan Pasic, not to mention all the other works and discussions dealing with the crisis. I would like to join those who view the crisis as not only economic but also ideological and political and who feel that you cannot say that the system is good and only practice and conduct are not.

After the country's victory and liberation it was necessary to take everything into account. It was necessary to think about building the new, not only about destroying the old. It turned out that it was not enough to develop society merely in accordance with good socialist principles such as social justice, social equality, and national equality. These by themselves cannot ensure a better development of society. We felt that the Party and the authorities alone should assume full responsibility and that they should resolve everything. There was no development of social awareness that only work can solve problems, that it was necessary to come up with new products and merchandise, and that one could not turn to the state whenever one needed something.

DANAS: In a word, revolutionary romanticism cannot take the place of the functioning of objective economic laws.

Borojevic: Precisely. This problem faces all socialist countries in which communist parties have assumed power. Revolutionary romanticism was sufficient for a renewal, to mobilize the masses after the war. When it was necessary to go beyond that, however, it was not enough. It was necessary to develop a work ethic, not an ethic of the easy life. I think that the main thing that has led us into the crisis was the fact that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia did not adhere to economic laws and instead created an atmosphere of "we can do anything, we will build everything, somehow we will manage." For a while, we did not know the expression "to finish a financial project." We were in a hurry to put down cornerstones. No one worried about how we would proceed from there. Of course, later on somebody took care of it, and the burden fell on those who worked. When all of this assumed major proportions, the leadership turned to foreign credits as if they were free.

DANAS: We took a number of wrong steps?

Borojevic: During such a long period in which one party was in power, there was a heavy bureaucratization of the authorities, separation between the party and the masses, and deviation from several political and economic principles of Marxist ideology on which the League of Communists of Yugoslavia based its program. No one is under the illusion that our society could have developed without difficulties and conflicts if only the Party had provided better leadership. To tell the truth, many things, such as the increase in the influence and rights of immediate producers, the development of self-management, the republics' greater involvement in their own development, and the fullest possible development and display of the characteristics of the various nationalities, were planned well. Still, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia was not able to stop at the political boundary separating centralism from separatism and the strengthening of the federal bodies--republics and provinces--without weakening the federation. Consequently, instead of centralist etatism we ended up with republic and province etatisms. Instead of a unified Yugoslav market we ended up with a disintegrated economy incapable of conducting modern technological development.

DANAS: The worst thing is that all of this had made possible a flare-up of nationalism, which presents the most serious problem for the country today. It is manifesting itself in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia itself, in its very leadership, as well as in some academies, etc. How do you view the appearance of nationalism in Yugoslavia?

Borojevic: Nationalism is really the greatest danger. There have always been people, and even parts of nationalities, who blamed others for their own failures and lack of development. In this, one should not overlook the great influence of the clergy, who encourage and organize nationalistic incidents and movements.

It is well known that nationalism exists among some of the clergy and various groups of disenfranchised bourgeoisie. We will always be faced with this. It is unusual, however, for nationalism to take root in the party itself. That is most dangerous. What makes matters even worse is the fact that some

leading party cadres have placed themselves at the head of nationalist groups and movements, just as they did in the seventies in the Central Committee of Croatia, and in the eighties in the province committee of Kosovo. They can be found elsewhere.

All of this is happening at a time when one could truly say that we have solved the nationality question in the best possible manner. Even much older, more developed states in Europe have failed to achieve such equality among nationalities and national minorities. They are all represented in the organs and bodies of the federation, where numerical predominance by the larger ethnic groups can happen only exceptionally, and never as an expression of official policy. There were reasons that the Federal Assembly failed to implement a simultaneous translation and publication of texts in several languages, that there were proportionately more Serbs than Croats in the militia in Croatia, that the diplomatic corps had more Montenegrins than other nationalities, or that the state capital was more concentrated in certain enterprises in Belgrade than in Zagreb or Ljubljana; this could have been resolved far more wisely, without breaking up the federation or the concept of Yugoslavism as a symbol of brotherhood and unity.

DANAS: Why are we avoiding the idea of Yugoslavism, and why do we label anyone who advocates the idea of Yugoslavism a unitarist?

Borojevic: We must oppose this and explain what Yugoslavism really means. We have good books on the subject and we must somehow circulate them. In this regard, I have in mind Matvejevic's book "Yugoslavism Today," Pleterski's book, as well as earlier positions on Yugoslavism by the Yugoslav Committee, Krleza and other giants.

What danger is there in Yugoslavism, when right now every nationality and national minority has completely achieved its rights to language, factories, universities, and representation in the Assembly?

Yugoslavism as an expression of unitarism had no chance to develop in the new Yugoslavia. It can find expression only among the Serbian nationalists.

I ask you, was Ivan Ribar any less a Croat because he considered himself a Yugoslav? Was Kardelj any less a Slovene, or Milentije Popovic any less a Serb because they considered themselves Yugoslavs, as millions do today? Let everyone declare himself to be what he wants to be, but if we fail to develop the Yugoslav idea as a concept of brotherhood and unity, as a joint concept of belonging to this country, we will dismantle Yugoslavia.

I do not like the fact that Serbs are doing most of the talking about Yugoslavism. It should be discussed more by Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, and others. It is to a certain extent understandable that Serbs talk about it the most, because they are the most numerous and intermixed with other nationalities. Still, the situation with Croats and Moslems is similar. When talking about Yugoslavism, one should not emphasize how much he has contributed to it, and even less how much someone has sacrificed for it.

DANAS: Serbian nationalists are spreading the thesis that they have won the war and lost the peace. Were you referring to this?

Borojevic: No Yugoslav nationality is to be blamed as far as the suffering of the Serbian people during the First World War and [the army's withdrawal] through Albania are concerned; this was caused by Austria and Hungary. The occupiers and quislings are to blame for the suffering of the Serbian people during the Second World War. One cannot blame the Croatian people for the fact that Serbs suffered the most under the Independent State of Croatia. Jews, Gypsies, and many others suffered also.

Today, almost a half century after the war, what is the use of counting the victims and accusing others? This leads to intolerance and hatred, and this creates splits not only among the nationalities but also within nationalities. We need to distance ourselves in time and let the historians objectively analyze the past and everything that has taken place on the basis of documents. We should guard against unqualified emotional accounts, which frequently cause more harm than good.

It is necessary to constantly watch over the brotherhood and unity of this country. This is especially true because Yugoslavia is not an artificial creation, as nationalists, both at home and abroad, would like to portray it. It is a natural entity created through a historical process that is needed by all the nationalities and national minorities that live in it.

DANAS: A short while ago, you mentioned Kosovo. How do you view the situation in Kosovo and everything that is going on there?

Borojevic: A terrible nationalism has developed there, and we do not have a real idea or information about it. Nationalists are hiding behind so-called "Marxist-Leninist groups." They are forcing out other nationalities and want an ethnically pure Kosovo, which was never the case.

What moral support it would have given the Serbian and Montenegrin people if at least a few hundred Albanians had been on the trains going to Belgrade or at the meeting in Kosovo Polje to voice their solidarity with threatened nationalities and condemn a policy of nationalist hatred. When the blacks in America struggled against racial discrimination, whites protested together with them. Support from progressive Albanians in the resolution of the Kosovo crisis is needed by the present Kosovo leadership, which is working on calming the situation.

DANAS: The last congress outlined new tasks in building the country's unity and developing self-management. Does the League of Communists of Yugoslavia have the strength and the revolutionary vision, if you will, to persist in these tasks?

Borojevic: That was certainly a congress of unity. We must be clear on the fact that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia must be a united party, with a united policy and program, regardless of the fact that the leagues of communists of the republics and provinces are independent organizations.

While they should act independently on a large number of issues, they must be parts of the united League of Communists of Yugoslavia. If the party is not united, Yugoslavism will also lack cohesion throughout the country. That was demonstrated by pre-war Yugoslavia. It had a number of parties that had the word "Yugoslav" in their names, but none was Yugoslav. Only the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was Yugoslav, and it offered a program that was accepted by all of our nationalities. This is why it was able to organize the uprising successfully and lead the revolution to victory.

Because of all the failures, bureaucratization, privileges, opportunism, and careerism that have occurred in our society, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has lost a great deal of prestige in the eyes of the people. Nevertheless, since the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia have to their credit historic achievements, such as the creation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, there is a conviction that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia will be able to lead the country out of the crisis. This provides great moral support and we must not betray this trust. The program for overcoming the crisis must be built on this. The party must find the answers to such major questions as, for example, what is the problem with the working class today and why are there so many social differences, what changes should be carried out in the countryside, what kind of development strategy we should adopt, etc.

DANAS: Undoubtedly, science plays a great role. How should we approach, encourage, and take it into account even more so that it can fulfill the task before it?

Borojevic: Much has been said on this subject. Many views have been expressed on the role of science in technological and social development. I think, however, that it must be admitted that for many things we depend on foreign licenses, we have the kind of economy that can live with losses, and we have reached the point where the "losers" are raising their salaries because we are "helping" them with new infusions of money and resources from those who work well. In such a situation, the economy feels no need for science.

Those who have taken a different road, however, those who wish to be competitive in both domestic and foreign markets to keep pace with the rest of the world, need science. One of the best examples is the Sarajevo ENERGOINVEST. Even though this may be known, it should be noted that ENERGOINVEST sets aside for scientific purposes more funds than the republic self-managing community of interest of Bosnia and Hercegovina. There are other examples like Gornji Milanovac and Velika Kladusa. In these cases, young professionals and politicians realized that waiting for assistance from the "broader social community" led nowhere. This miracle was based on their own intelligence and work.

It is necessary to abandon the policy of imposing losses on society and to teach the people to seek solutions by themselves. I believe that they will be able to find them. We must develop scientific research work, but as long as 80 percent of the researchers are at universities and independent

institutes, the economy will be modernized slowly. It is necessary to set aside more funds for science, because the current 0.5 to 1 percent of social product is not enough for even basic research let alone applied research, development, and investments in the economy.

DANAS: Some time ago, your late colleague Relja Savic, a researcher and experimental breeder, asked one of the former presidents of the federal Committee on Agriculture whether we needed agriculture. That question expresses the attitude toward that branch of the economy.

Borojevic: All communist parties have failed to take the correct attitude toward agriculture and they always felt that something else would develop society faster than agriculture. Beginning in 1985 we have made great strides in intensifying production, but we still do not produce enough food for our needs and for export. One of the main reasons is the fact that it was felt that it was enough to develop the social sector.

Production is at a high level, but we still do not have enough wheat and corn, and cattle raising is in a constant decline. The reason is the failure to resolve the question of production on private farms and the attitude toward private farms.

DANAS: We were afraid of them?

Borojevic: Not only were we afraid of them, we did not know how to resolve the problem. We began with collectivization, which did not succeed. Now we are developing coproduction with the social sector, but this is not possible everywhere.

Why are we afraid of cooperative organizations established by farmers in accordance with their interests and needs? If that were to happen, such organization would no longer contain officials and people unwilling to work. They would be composed of real producers who would not leave the farmer high and dry when the harvest is plentiful. Let the people think and work in accordance with their own interests and let the state undertake measures to encourage production and keep the young people on the land (through agrarian and tax policies). It is not necessary to fear those who own tractors, plows, combines, and other types of equipment, and who work from sunup to sundown. It is necessary to tax those who charge for services without doing any of the work themselves.

Such method and scope of agricultural production on private farms are not in accordance with the needs and future development of production forces. It is a major theoretical and practical question for socialism to solve this problem. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia must seek new solutions for the sake of future progress.

9110/12947  
CSO: 2800/344

SOCIOLOGY

HUNGARY

#### CHANGES IN SOCIAL STRUCTURE EXAMINED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Jun 86 p 5

[Interview with Professor Rudolf Andorka, sociologist, department chairman at Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences, by Denes Kovacs: "About the Structure of Hungarian Society"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] The Hungarian economy and society have undergone enormous changes during the past 40 years, and these changes have significantly altered the relations of the individual classes and strata. What factors determine society's stratification? What conclusions have the studies on social stratification reached? These are the questions we discussed in an interview with Professor Rudolf Andorka, department chairman at Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences.

#### Narrowing Differences, Restratification

[Question] What considerations make the social structure's thorough and comprehensive exploration especially urgent at present?

[Answer] The members of every society feel an obvious need to learn as much about themselves as possible, about society's increasingly complex internal stratification. Without this, not even the science-supported socialist management of society would be able to lead society in the desirable direction in the long run, transform the production relations, develop the economy and make decisions that help to attain the most important political objectives. It is also a prerequisite for the advancement of democracy that the members of society see clearly and assess objectively their own situation. If we add to all this the fact that the changes directly affecting social conditions have accelerated particularly during the past 10 to 15 years, it is obvious that all this places a great responsibility on sociologists and other social scientists.

[Question] To what extent are the earlier concepts and analytical methods of social investigations applicable under the new conditions? What new modes of approach do the present circumstances require?

[Answer] It has been demonstrated that we cannot investigate today's society with the help of the same theoretical models as in the period of extensive industrialization, when it was easier to gain an overview of the social and



economic processes. Not only because society's class structure changed in the first period of building socialism, but also because the content, the composition of the individual social categories has undergone significant modification. Consider, for example, the change in the working class's composition by occupations: a whole series of new crafts has appeared, while others have vanished completely. A new cooperative peasantry has emerged, significantly different from the former one. And the internal structure of the intellectuals and the nature of their work resemble less and less what they were 20 or 30 years ago. At the same time, the mutual relations of the classes and strata have likewise changed much, and the barriers between them have mostly been dismantled, due in part to the large-scale social mobility. Here I have to mention a fact which is not always duly appreciated: namely, that the living standard and working conditions of the peasantry resemble more and more those of the working class. Speaking of the new phenomena, we must not forget to mention that in recent years we have also been witnessing the evolution of new social groups (small entrepreneurs, for example) which hardly fit into the traditional categories.

Thus the simplified model of "two classes and one stratum"--i.e., the working class, cooperative peasantry, and intellectuals--used to describe society is becoming less and less suitable for depicting Hungarian society.

[Question] While we are on the subject of social categories, it is obviously necessary to consider not only individuals but families as well, because they are of special importance from the viewpoint of society's structure and, naturally, of the investigated group's social position as well.

[Answer] Indeed. The family is the smallest consumer unit within society, and partially also the smallest production unit. Incomes within the family are redistributed, and expenditures are covered jointly; the family's situation and circumstances determine its life-style, etc. Today, in a departure from the past, it is unwarranted to classify families according to the occupation of the household's head, usually the husband. Because in most families the women also are gainfully employed, and thus their incomes are decisive within the family's income. Furthermore, the women are also left with the household chores and with caring for the children. As a result of the social changes, there are today more and more families of so-called mixed composition, in which the breadwinners--the husband and wife--belong to different social classes. The proportion of such families now approximates 30 percent of the number of households.

[Question] Does this change mean that we no longer take membership in an agriculture cooperative into consideration from the viewpoint of determining the class categories?

[Answer] That is beside the question, because in our society all those whose situation is identical on the basis of membership in an agricultural cooperative are assigned to the same social class. Thus the working class and the peasantry remain the two principal social classes. However, differences explicitly of a class nature are increasingly losing their importance, and the two principal classes are resembling each other more and more closely in terms

of their relationship to the production assets or the nature of their work, respectively of their living conditions and many other factors that characterize their social situation. Therefore preference ought to be given to investigations by social strata. This is the more important because, parallel with the narrowing of the differences between the two classes, the differences are widening between strata within the classes.

#### Differences by Occupation

[Question] Up to now we have been discussing mainly the difficulty and complexity of investigating society's structure, and the diversity and different nature of the factors that determine the status of the classes and strata. In the investigations, however, it is also necessary to rank these factors by order of their importance. Among these factors, what role does sociology assign to occupation?

[Answer] In identifying the social strata, the most important distinguishing characteristic is the nature of the work performed. With groups based on so-called job characteristics, therefore, we are better able to describe Hungary's reality than with the earlier simplified model. Because, for example, an engineer's work differs from that of a skilled worker; the enterprise chief executive's, from the work of a subordinate engineer; and a skilled worker's, from that of a semiskilled one. But the work of the blue-collar worker who monitors the operation of machines in an automated plant is again different from the work that a maintenance worker does, and so on. This classification is the more important because the occupation, the type of work performed, determines to a significant extent the amount of pay at the main place of work. And pay plays a decisive role in the final situation of individuals and families, and in their social position in a wide sense.

Moreover, the opportunities to supplement income, which are becoming more and more important these days, are likewise linked to occupation. Such opportunities are entirely different for, say, a physician than a secondary-school teacher, or a garage mechanic as compared with a miner. We must watch this because the great gains of the second economy in recent years, with the spreading of income-supplementing activities, have altered the situation of various strata. Thus we must differentiate the social strata also on the basis of the extent to which persons in a given occupation, with a given professional training, are able to find second jobs or earn extra income through various income-supplementing activities. And this is true even if we know, on the basis of a 1982 survey, that about three-fourths of all families engage in some kind of income-supplementing activity.

Therefore the occupation--and the nature of the work performed--deserves attention not only from the viewpoint of income. Consider, for example, how the number of hours worked and the physically or mentally strenuous nature of the work affect one's life-style, the amount of leisure time, and the way it is used. Thus the differences in terms of the number of hours worked per day (including main and second jobs, household chores, and commuting time) are extremely great: in some categories the total number of hours worked amounts --on average for workdays and days of rest--to 10 or 11 hours a day.

[Question] As a result of all this, has the importance of pay or income declined as a stratum-forming factor?

[Answer] No, even today income is what mostly determines the social status of families. The point is "merely" that we must strive to measure, in addition to the income from the main job, also the incomes from other activities, and the favorable and unfavorable effects of earning such incomes. Which is not easy. A new and complex task in the investigation of income differences is the enumeration of total or aggregate lifetime incomes, in addition to "current" incomes. Because only in this manner is it possible to uncover certain deep-rooted social differences and their causes. At the start of their careers, for example, young intellectuals on average are still earning several hundred forints less [per month] than young skilled workers, catching up with the latter around the age of 30; but in terms of aggregate lifetime earnings, the skilled workers retain their lead until the age of 45. But from then on the gap in aggregate lifetime earnings widens increasingly in favor of the intellectuals over the skilled workers, and eventually the pensions of the intellectuals will be higher than those of the skilled workers. But if we wish to analyze the financial situation of the families--and this is something else and more than their income situation--then it may be useful to examine how the members of today's society are supplied with durable goods. I have in mind particularly the availability of housing, and the ownership of apartments or vacation homes.

[Question] We have arrived at the housing situation, which influences especially strongly the social position of individuals and families, and is one of the sore points of today's society. To what extent do the housing conditions differentiate the situation of individual strata?

[Answer] Whether or not a family lives in a separate housing unit affects to a large extent its financial situation and entire life-style. I wish to note that today several hundred thousand families still lack separate housing units and are sharing a housing unit with one or more other families. Particularly newlyweds, and also their parents, are forced to make great financial sacrifices and to undertake extra work, in the interest of acquiring a home. It is common knowledge that the most expensive way of acquiring a home is to buy or build a privately owned apartment or house. An indication of the differences in opportunities that exist in this respect is that in the under-30 age groups the proportion of buyers or builders is 28 percent among intellectuals, 30 percent among skilled workers, and 50 percent among farm laborers.

Here we have to mention that where the individuals or families live--in a town, city, village or on a farm--is another differentiating factor. The related differences are the more important because in the capital and the large provincial cities, for example, the water supply and sewers are much better, most services are more readily available, the stores are better supplied, and there are more job opportunities. Small-scale farming as a source of supplementary income is more available to village residents, while other forms of supplementing income are far more limited for them. But the problem of commuting is also associated with the place of residence. According to our investigations, commuters belong among the least favorably situated strata within Hungarian society.

## Process of Transformation

[Question] How are you able to take all these aspects into consideration in your sociological investigations? On the basis of all this, how do you see Hungarian society's stratification?

[Answer] A process of differentiation is taking place within the Hungarian society of today, parallel with its economic and social development. As a result of this differentiation, we are able to speak less and less of a uniform working class living and working under identical conditions, or of a uniform stratum of intellectuals. Since the 1960's, therefore, we distinguish skilled, semiskilled and unskilled workers among the blue-collar workers; and managers, intellectuals, and other groups within the stratum of white-collar workers. But society's profound self-knowledge demands that we form also additional, smaller strata and groups, on the basis of all the characteristics which we have discussed above.

This is the more important because at present Hungarian society is undergoing a process of transformation, which the changeover to intensive economic development compels. We do not see clearly as yet all the details of this transformation, but it is already evident that the basically favorable changes are accompanied by certain social problems. To mention only a few: the demographic problems evident in the low birth rate and high mortality rate; a possible increase of the low-income and disadvantaged groups; a certain narrowing of social mobility; harmful features of life-style; and problems of social adjustment. We must accept these problems, or at least some of them, as concomitants of development. But we must also know which strata of our society these problems affect the most. Therefore we must gain a deeper and more thorough knowledge of our society than what we have at present. This is a prerequisite for adopting the right measures and for remedying the problems.

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